

How Bishops View
World Relations

SOCIAL ORDER

OCTOBER 1954 • 40c • \$4 A YEAR

"isms" no. 2:

LIBERALISM

THOMAS P. NEILL

How DPs Settle Down

JOHN C. REED

Clark Judges the Welfare State

PHILIP S. LAND

Notes on an Autobiographer

RAYMOND BERNARD

SOCIAL ORDER

Vol. IV

OCTOBER, 1954

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U. S. A.

. . . just a few things:

THE SECOND OF OUR ARTICLES on various "isms" appears in this issue. Dr. Thomas P. Neill, a distinguished member of our advisory board, has been a student of liberalism for many years and has treated of that Protean spirit, more or less directly, in practically everything he has written. His most recent book—and the next, but one, he projects—have liberalism as their explicit subject.

Another article in the series, on secularism, will be written by Prof. Charles Donahue, of Fordham University, whose contributions to clarifying the idea of American secularism in *Thought* and *SOCIAL ORDER* have been invaluable.

Father Bernard Dempsey, whose article on capitalism inaugurated our series, has resigned from the *SOCIAL ORDER* advisory board and is now a member of the Marquette University faculty. All of us connected with the magazine regret the loss of his sane, genial guidance.

SINCE THE CLOSE of World War II, something in the neighborhood of 1.5 million immigrants have come into the United States. More than 400,000 of these were European refugees from countries drawn within the Soviet orbit.

The work of receiving and assimilating these people has gone on apace, but there has been little time to take stock of the program's success or of the ease with which these refugees are settling down in their new country.

So far as is known, Father John C. Reed's study of refugee adjustment,

completed last year at Saint Louis University, is the first that has been undertaken. A summary of his findings is presented in this issue. Father Reed sent the article from West Baden College, where he taught sociology this summer.

THE DISTINGUISHED WORK of Colin Clark has won the attention of economists everywhere. He recently published a booklet making startling proposals concerning Britain's welfare programs. This study, which is a sort of by-product of his economic research, has not received sufficient comment in this country. Father Land, who has just returned to the Institute of Social Order from a year's leave of absence, outlines Clark's recommendation and points out some of its values.

BY WAY OF COMMENT on the autobiography of John LaFarge, former editor-in-chief of *America*, Father Bernard adds a few footnotes on phases of the distinguished writer's career which an autobiography almost inevitably ignores.

TWO YEARS AGO, in our June, 1952, issue, Father Wilfrid Parsons surveyed the whole body of thought formulated by the American hierarchy through some thirty years for its social teaching. Briefly considered in his masterly summary was the portion dealing with in-

ternational relations. In this issue Mr. Michael H. Jordan presents a more detailed résumé of this part of the hierarchy's long series of joint statements.

•

FATHER JOHN L. THOMAS, whose articles on various aspects of the family in American culture have attracted wide attention, has shelved that general topic for a moment to give his attention to the related subject of clothing. He is at work on an article on the cultural roles of clothing and the moral questions related to the virtue of modesty. His article will appear in one of the issues of SOCIAL ORDER before the end of the year.

•

PROJECTED FOR PUBLICATION late in 1954 is a study which gives rich promise. As a supplement to the series of articles recently published by *Commonweal* on the Church in the United States, SOCIAL ORDER is preparing an outline of lead questions concerning a wide range of aspects of American Catholic life. The list of questions will be submitted to a selected group of *foreign-born* Catholics who have taken up residence in the United States and have been for some years members of the American church.

SOCIAL ORDER believes that the observations of such a group will be of

unique value, first, because they have been members of the church in a different culture, and secondly, because they will view the church, its practices and institutions here with a combination of disinterestedness and understanding which neither native-born nor foreign visitors can achieve.

•

WE ARE HAPPY TO ANNOUNCE that Father Walter J. Ong, S.J., who has recently joined the English department of Saint Louis University, has accepted a position on SOCIAL ORDER's editorial advisory board. Father Ong has already written for SOCIAL ORDER; his article on Marshall McLuhan's *Mechanical Bride*, which appeared in the issue for February, 1952, was a stimulating discussion of some aspects of American culture. Other articles have appeared in various journals of this country, England, France and Germany.

His doctoral thesis is to be published by Harvard University Press.

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MAY WE CALL YOUR ATTENTION to what we hope will be our final change of address. During the summer SOCIAL ORDER moved into what is hopefully looked upon as permanent quarters. Our address is now 3908 Westminister Place. The city address remains Saint Louis 8.

F. J. C., S.J.



LIBERALISM

*... a term of many meanings
whose sense must be defined when used*

THOMAS P. NEILL

LIBERALISM is a term of many meanings, often of no precise meaning at all. It is a word of high emotional rather than intellectual content. This is unfortunate, both because it creates confusion and because it divides persons and groups who might otherwise work harmoniously together in at least some areas of social and political action. Confusion about the meaning of liberalism, then, has unfortunate practical as well as confusing intellectual results.

Until recently the term enjoyed general good repute in America. Except for small classes of scholars—some theologians, some historians and the like—Americans looked on liberalism as an assemblage of humane attitudes and generous theories based somehow on the Constitution and the American tradition. For most Americans liberalism meant an open-minded approach to social questions, a willingness to study all points of view and to arrive at honest conclusions. It meant freedom from the hard cake of custom and from any "arbitrary" authority. It was thought of in contrast to narrow-mindedness, selfish egoism and blind conservatism. Liberalism was not associated with any one party in American history. The term was generally used in a loose way to refer to all who favored progress and had not closed their minds on how this progress was to be achieved. It

was a term to which almost all parties and schools of thought laid claim.¹

Strong emotion engendered by the New Deal and by international politics since about 1935 (the Popular Front) gave liberalism a new meaning in this country.² Opponents of the New Deal accused Roosevelt and his supporters of having stolen a "grand old word" as a label for a socialist program.³ This group, small in numbers, still claims that liberalism in its true sense belongs to those who would limit government in the interest of free enterprise. *Free-man* is the journal that best represents this point of view which is also ex-

¹ Early in 1949 the New York *Herald Tribune* asked its readers to write simple, concise definitions of the term liberal. The results were analyzed by Robert Bendiner, "What Is A Liberal?" *The Nation* (March, 1949). Bendiner reported that the editors of the *Herald Tribune* found that the term liberalism "has ceased to be either a concrete program of action or a consistent body of doctrine."

² The New York *Times* was much concerned with the meaning of liberalism in the 1930's. A series of articles analyzed the definition of liberalism by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senators Glass and Norris, Representative Sumner, Paul McNutt, the Gallup Poll, and others in 1938 and 1939. A series of editorials on "the meaning of liberalism" appeared in January, 1940.

³ The phrase is John T. Flynn's, "What Liberalism Means to Me," *The American Mercury* (August, 1948), p. 161. Typical of the attacks on the New Deal in the name of "liberalism" are Herbert Hoover's *The Challenge to Liberty* (1934), and Ogden L. Mills' *Liberalism Fights On* (1936).

pressed bluntly in such business newsletters as *Industrial News Review* and more subtly in releases from the N. A. M. No serious sociologist or historian uses liberalism in reference to this group unless he quickly explains the content of the term.

Liberalism is more generally used nowadays to refer to programs that give the federal government a larger role in economic and social life. (Supporters of such programs are referred to by *Freeman* as "pseudo-liberals" or "egg heads" or sometimes as "fellow-travelers.") Liberalism is used more generally and most frequently in a neutral, non-emotional sense, to refer to the thought of those who favor social reform by increased governmental regulation and operation of certain industries. It means, in this sense, the doctrine of those who would give the government an increasingly large paternalistic role over its citizens' lives. Thus liberalism is the label for theories favoring a "welfare state."

MEDIAN POSITION

The Catholic position, when contrasted with these two extreme liberal attitudes, may help to clarify Catholicism's enduring view of liberalism. Catholic social policy, while generally midway between these conflicting views, is broad and tolerant. There could easily be different Catholics who would agree wholeheartedly with both extremes of liberal policy.

Catholic opposition to liberalism rarely concentrates upon social policies espoused by liberals. In almost all instances the point of controversy is rather the radically naturalistic view of man and society which doctrinaire liberals entertain. This has commonly been a characteristic of the liberal view, whether that be so "conservative" (to our way of thinking today) as *laissez faire*, or so "progressive" as the position of many liberals today. It might not be correct to claim that naturalism

THE "ISMS"

Aside from the fact that in our time ideological conflicts are those least open to compromise, the triumph of the "isms" places a much heavier burden on the active intelligence of the citizen. For, unlike the simple Anglo-Saxon expletives, these words put us under the obligation to know what they really mean. . . .

E. O. GOLOB, *The "Isms"*

is *always* the point of Catholic opposition, but it is certainly far and away the most common.

Liberalism is also used in an opprobrious sense to refer to secularist solutions which would exclude both religious groups and religious principles from any role in American social and political life. (Those who use the term in this sense labeled defenders of the McCollum decision "liberal.") These are mostly but not exclusively Catholics. They give it a more restricted and a harsher meaning than does any other sizeable group in America. Here it is that confusion on the meaning of liberalism has unfortunate practical results. Americans who do not know the tradition of Catholic social thought read into Catholic strictures against liberalism a condemnation of everything they associate with American liberalism—which for many is everything distinctly American. Such people are doubly confused when, on further study, they find that the Holy Father and the great majority of Catholic social thinkers in America advocate many of the same measures they consider part of liberalism. Catholics, on the other hand, see in liberalism the bundle of anti-clerical and anti-religious attitudes and doctrines condemned by the popes and by European bishops under the title of liberalism. They tend automatically, therefore, to associate such attitudes and doctrines with anyone in America who calls himself a liberal.

Temporal and Spiritual

If Catholics in America can learn a more profound respect for the rights of the temporal, and non-Catholic liberals a more basic reverence for the rights of the spiritual, there need be no further threat to democracy or religion from either side. The obligation involved seems to be mutual.

William P. Clancy,
Catholicism in America

Some light is thrown on the meanings of liberalism by sketching the history of the use of the word. It seems to have been first used in Spain in 1811 to refer to the body of thought held by the proponents of the constitution adopted the next year. This Constitution of 1812 was modeled on the French Constitution of 1791, which epitomized the radical thought of the Enlightenment.⁴ Proponents of the constitution were anti-clerical rationalists, children of the secularist thought of the Enlightenment. In this first use of the term liberalism, then, it included anti-clericalism as an essential ingredient. Included also was a general hostility toward religion having any role in social or political life. Opponents of this group were the supporters of the Old Regime, clerical and lay, who condemned the constitution both as unworkable and as a document based on false theological and philosophical assumptions. In the ensuing debate both groups grew more extreme in their respective stands, and in this setting the first body of thought labeled liberalism was formulated.

Within a few years the Spanish term had appeared in Italy as *liberalismo* and

in France as *liberalisme*. In each country the specific doctrines it stood for differed somewhat, according to the local political and social situation, but in every case liberalism in the Latin countries involved theological and philosophical principles as well as political and social doctrines. Liberalism appeared as a word in England sometime around 1830 to refer to the doctrines of the left wing of the Whig Party that was then campaigning for the reform bill of 1832. Liberalism in England was basically economic, secondarily political, and only incidentally was it tinged with philosophical and theological considerations.⁵

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

The English liberalism of this period consists of the body of doctrine commonly associated with the names of Malthus and Ricardo, Bentham and Macaulay, all neatly summarized in the writings of Herbert Spencer, especially in his *Social Statics* of 1850. This is the liberalism that considered government an evil—which, with Spencer at least, might become an unnecessary evil in the more civilized future. It considered public education, free libraries and other such state services a form of socialism and an unjust robbing of the rich (taxes) to support the poor. This is the liberalism that considered poor relief immoral and universal suffrage "the end of civilization." It ac-

⁴ We are concerned here with liberalism as it was commonly used. Theologians used it in a special sense, as Newman, who understood it to mean "false liberty of thought, or the exercise of thought upon matters, in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place"—such as truths of Revelations or first principles of philosophy.—*Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1913), p. 493.

⁵ The phrase is Macaulay's. In the debate on the Chartist Petition of 1842 Macaulay asserted that "universal suffrage is incompatible, not with this or that form of government, but with all forms of government, and with everything for the sake of which forms of government exists; that it is in-

⁴ The best treatment of Spanish liberalism is Luis Díez del Corral, *El Liberalismo doctrinario* (1945).

Measurement of Freedom

In the present communist regimes unions are tools of management, worker mobility is discouraged by every means, savings are periodically wiped out by changes in currency, and individual self-respect is extirpated by the fearful technique of terror. Thus it seems that the worker's independence is as good an index as any for measuring the freedom of a society.

ERIC HOFFER, *Harper's*,
March, 1954

cepted the "natural laws" of the economists that fixed wages at a subsistence level and condemned the working class never to rise from their providentially assigned lot in life. Anglo-Saxon liberalism did not become openly and violently anti-clerical, as did its continental counterpart of the same period. Instead, it disassociated economic and political life from theological and moral considerations. Because the church had little to say about social matters in England, there was no need for English liberalism to do more than ignore it.

English liberals were successful in putting most of their theories into practice. The Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 gave the middle class control of Commons and of local government; the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the remaining Navigation Acts in 1849 gave the merchant class something very close to free trade; the New Poor Law of 1834 was the last step in creating a free labor market, and a series of land acts put land into the market as a free commodity.

compatible with property, and that it is incompatible with civilization."—"Speech on the People's Charter." *Miscellanies* (1900), I, 268.

Thus classical liberalism was put into practice in England in the age of the Victorian Compromise (1832-1865). Liberals of this period were satisfied that their chief task was to prevent a reaction toward a stronger government on the one hand, or, on the other, a march toward universal suffrage. They opposed the Chartist Movement, for example, because of its dangerous demand for universal suffrage. They fought unions as being in restraint of free trade in labor. They opposed government regulation of working conditions as "unnatural" limitations on free enterprise. Classical liberalism was a doctrine which assumed a world of separate employers, distinct workers, and individual consumers, all freely competing in the open market to set the price of land, labor and goods. Such a world was almost realized for a time, but the very nature of free enterprise soon created large corporations and threatened to create unions. The vote could not long be withheld from the working man. Most liberals bowed to the inevitable and tried to "educate" the laborer so that he could be trusted to vote intelligently—which meant he would subscribe to the truth of liberalism.

TURNS CONSERVATIVE

Thus liberalism began to change in England in the last half of the nineteenth century. There is no need for tracing the process of this change here.⁷ It is sufficient to note that by the end of the century liberalism in England meant social insurance for the workers, having the government protect the masses from Big Business, abandoning the *laissez-faire* concept of the state for something approaching a welfare state. There were all degrees of opinion on how far this process should go, but all liberals agreed that the state should take

⁷ This metamorphosis of liberalism is treated in detail in my *Rise and Decline of Liberalism* (1953), pp. 228 ff.

a positive role in achieving social justice.

Certain adherents of classical liberalism refused to accept the new liberalism. They likewise refused to surrender the title of liberalism to which, indeed, they clung tenaciously and fiercely. The leader of this group was Herbert Spencer, and associated with him were such lesser figures as Lord Hartington, the Duke of Argyll, Bruce Smith and George Goschen. These men organized the Liberty and Property Defense League, much like the American Liberty League of 1934, that set forth on a crusade to defend liberty and property from the attacks of the new "welfare" liberalism. Classical liberalism thus became conservatism in England at the turn of the century. The confusion of terms increased as each group laid claim to the title liberalism and accused the other of "spurious liberalism" or "blind conservatism."

This pattern of confusion was, for all practical purposes, duplicated in America in the twentieth century. As we have already indicated, almost all Americans considered themselves liberal throughout the nineteenth century. But a group of social thinkers and business leaders laid special claim—quite validly—to the title of liberalism. Led by Graham Sumner they transferred the classical liberalism of Herbert Spencer to America. This is the doctrine subscribed to not only by professors like Sumner and economists like David A. Wells, but also by business leaders like Andrew Carnegie. It was substantially the same *laissez-faire* doctrine as regards the government, the same glorification of individual enterprise, the same appeal to "natural laws" in economics, the same belief that by his own efforts a man obtains what he deserves in this life as well as in the next. This is the liberalism which, in a modified way, is held today by the *Freeman* writers and by the N.A.M.

LIBERALS TODAY

We have seen that the term is more generally used in this country to refer to those who would solve more economic and social problems by state action. These are the social theorists and the politicians who, like the later liberals in England, carried on the fight against big business; the Populists, the Progressives, the Fair Dealers, the New Dealers and their successors in this decade. These liberals look to the government for protection from big business. Again, there are all shades of opinion as to how many functions are to be allotted to the federal government and how much is to be left to local agencies of government or to non-governmental groups. But the general tendency of this kind of liberalism is toward increased regulation or replacement of business by the government.

Confusion in the use of the term in America was increased by Catholics—and by certain splinter groups—who emigrated to this country from the Continent. For them liberalism has still another meaning, one they learned from Continental Liberals and from papal pronouncements since the time of Pope Pius IX, this understanding of liberalism they brought with them to America. Liberalism to them meant the doctrines of Mazzini in Italy, Quintana in Spain, Rotteck in Germany, Michelet in France. This was a liberalism that had declared war on the Church (or perhaps the declaration of war was a mutual thing), and whenever it achieved power had despoiled the Church of its holdings, had dissolved religious orders, had excluded religion from education, and had systematically set about destroying the established religion of each country—which in the Latin countries was the Catholic Church. This is the liberalism which is flatly condemned by Pope Pius IX and his successors, which is written against by Louis Veuillot and

Juan Donoso Cortés and is condemned not only for its war against the Church but also for its theological and philosophical errors.

Most Catholics, then, continued to understand liberalism in the continental sense when they came to America. The contents of the bottle was different in this country, but the label was the same—and it is natural for people to look at labels instead of analyzing contents. For this reason Catholics were stigmatized with the reputation of being anti-liberal. Moreover, the presence in this country of splinter groups from the Continent, such as the German "forty-eighters" (expelled liberals against whom Catholics continued their polemics) seemed to validate such an accusation. Catholic groups, then, came to see liberalism as a doctrine dangerous to the very framework of American life as set forth in the Constitution. Most American liberals, on the other hand, thought that they were only seeking new ways and means for promoting the general welfare, which they considered the purpose of good government anywhere.

COMMON ELEMENT

Can these three kinds of liberalism—1. Continental liberalism, as viewed by Catholics; 2. Classical liberalism as expressed by Herbert Spencer and formulated in this country by Graham Sumner; 3. welfare liberalism of the English liberals of 1906 and the American New Dealers—be seen to have anything in common? If they can, there may be some generic meaning in the term which would validate its being used with an appropriate adjective to designate the various kinds of liberalism that have existed in the past and still exist in the present.

First let us see what is *not* consistently to be found in liberals—for many claims by its adherents and accusations by its opponents add to the confusion about its meaning. As we have already

seen, liberalism is not an unchanging body of doctrines. It is not the same thing as democracy, nor does it hold a consistent view of liberty. Neither is it correct to equate liberalism with tolerance and with a sympathetic understanding of all points of view. Some liberals have, at one time or another, held all these views—but other liberals have held the contrary.

Liberalism has consisted of a bundle of more-or-less related attitudes, ideas and methods, rather than a set of clearly formulated doctrines. In the first place, it has always been opposed to the established powers of the time. In the age of Classical liberalism's formation in England it was opposed to the mercantilistic state. On the Continent it was the established church and the royal regime. At a later date, when the government had been weakened by liberal vic-

Religion and Culture

The social form of a religion depends not only on the inner logic of its moral doctrine but on the type of culture with which it is united, and also on the way in which its union with the culture is achieved.

A religion may grow up, as it were naturally, with the life of a people, so as to seem inseparable from it. . . . [Or it] may enter a fully formed culture from without, as Buddhism entered China or as Islam conquered Persia in the seventh century. Finally, we have the case of a religion fully formed entering a culture which is still in process of formation and thus itself becoming one of the constituent elements of the new culture that is growing up.

Christopher Dawson,
Medieval Essays

tories, the power to be feared was big business. Opposition to religious authority has always been present in liberalism, sometimes as an active ingredient and sometimes latent. Even liberal Catholics find themselves forever fighting the temptation to anti-clericalism, a temptation inherent in their position as liberal Catholics.

NAIVE RATIONALISM

Liberals have consistently enthroned individual judgment, making it sovereign over revelation and tradition, social opinion and that complexus of factors—rational and non-rational—which we call a way of life. Contemporary liberals do not hold the same atomistic view of society or subscribe to the same individualism that classical liberals held. But they do claim that each individual is still sovereign judge of right and wrong, and each is still the best judge of his own interests. In this respect, liberals have never outlived their earlier naive trust in man's unadulterated rationality. Classical liberals looked on man as a human calculating machine whose terminus was his own enlightened material self-interest. Contemporary liberals hold a less naive view of the role of reason in formulating human judgments, but the individual still remains final, practically sovereign judge.

Sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly—especially on the Continent—liberals have developed a distinctive theory of human nature. Denying original sin, they make man innocently good. They account for evil on the grounds of ignorance and bad social organization. Because man's desires are good and full confidence is put in his unaided reason, liberals have consistently subscribed to a theory of progress that looks for some kind of near perfect state in the future. If man is to reach this state he must know the truth—which to liberals is a practical rather than a metaphysical thing. Truth, they

believe, can best be reached by freedom of speech and press, by the right to put all shades of truth and error in the open arena. In the long run truth will survive and error will pass away, because all men are rational.

Throughout the nineteenth century, liberalism possessed other common characteristics associated in some way with the middle class: a reverence for property rights even at the expense of the rights of the human person; an identification with that system of production and distribution called "capitalism"; a loose affinity for certain brands of Protestantism as against the established Anglican, Lutheran and Catholic religions and a frame of mind more congenial to the middle class than to the peasantry or the aristocracy, an empirical, scientific, mundane approach to reality. Contemporary liberalism has shed these characteristics as it disassociated itself from the middle class. For today liberalism cannot be identified with any single economic or social class. It is the doctrine of those who advocate change, and it may be subscribed to by "intellectuals," by wealthy men (like Marshall Field) who accept inherited fortunes with uneasy conscience, or by the large number of people who believe the socio-economic system must be radically changed in order to give them their just place in society.

MEANING TODAY

What, then, may be considered the proper use of the term liberalism today? If the word is to have any meaning at all, it cannot properly be applied to the heirs of classical liberalism. Groups like the N.A.M. and writers like John T. Flynn are best classified as conservative. Liberalism remains too broad a term for expeditious usage even when this group has been eliminated. It can be applied properly to all those who have scant respect for the traditional institutions we have built through the ages. Liberals look hopefully to the

future, and they put a somewhat naive trust in anything new. In the empirical tradition, they are willing—even anxious—to try new solutions for old problems. Instead of relying on the accumulated wisdom of the past (the existence of which they would deny), they tend to put faith in man's intelligent use of the new technology to achieve a better world in the future. They still subscribe to man's innate goodness and to his ability to solve his own problems autonomously. Liberals have an aversion to mystery and to a faith that transcends reason. They cannot admit that man is ultimately mysterious and that the complexus of social relations contains but a small admixture of rationality.

Of necessity most contemporary liberals look to the government for a solution of social and economic problems. For this reason they are frequently labeled "totalitarian" by their opponents—a label which fits some but not by any means all contemporary liberals. A closer look at today's liberals reveals that they have little else in common. Differences are soon seen to be more real than similarities, except for the fact that they are all dissatisfied with society as it is presently constituted and believe that a better world can be worked out in the future.

Some liberals oppose adding to the central government's functions and powers. They favor solution of all problems possible by local government or by such independent groups as labor and capital. There are Catholic liberals—an heroic group, this writer believes—why by the nature of their position are doomed to the odium heaped on such a leader as Ozanam in the days of Classical liberalism, but who are both soundly liberal and soundly Catholic. Catholic liberals can, with considerable justification but with some slight shading of things, look to the present Holy Father as their chief spokesman. These

State and Economy

To specify the present role of the state in our enormously expanded social and economic affairs, we must insist on the necessity of directing efforts at 1. progressive growth of the economy and 2. a more equitable distribution of income and all social gains, making clear that these objectives are closely linked with respect for free enterprise and the free exchange of goods which necessarily improve economic efficiency and individual liberty.

Semaine Sociale, 1954

are thinkers who want to keep the political, social and technological accomplishments of the past and to inform them in the future with true Christian principles.

Anyone who wanders long in the maze of confusion surrounding the word liberalism will readily agree with Max Lerner that it is "perhaps the most disputed term of our generation."⁸ And he will applaud Hallowell's injunction that it "should be more precisely defined than it is today or else it should be abandoned."⁹ Unfortunately words are defined by usage rather than committees and guillotining a word editorially does not kill it. It goes on being used. Liberalism will continue to be used to cover many different sets of attitudes and doctrines, sometimes as an opprobrious label to stick on "enemy" doctrines but more often in America as a term to draw respectful applause. Perhaps it would not be too much to suggest, nevertheless, that social writers and teachers do two things in regard to the use of the word liberalism in America today: first, realize it is a term of many meanings; and second, define the sense in which one understands the term when using it.

⁸ Cited by Edwin Mims, Jr., *The Majority of the People* (1941), p. 174.

⁹ *The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology* (1946), p. xii.

D P's Find Homes

Catholic Refugee Families in the St. Louis Archdiocese, 1948-1953

JOHN C. REED, S.J.

BETWEEN October, 1948, and July, 1952, some 395,000 refugees were resettled in the U. S.¹ Under the general direction of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), Bishops' Resettlement Committees were set up in various cities to aid in placing Catholic refugees. From October 30, 1948 to March 1, 1954, the NCWC Resettlement Division in New York took care of 138,985 refugees.² How have these Catholic refugees fared here? Have they successfully adjusted to life in a new land? How a small group of these refugees has fared is the story of this article.

This report³ considers the Catholic refugee families in the archdiocese of St. Louis. Of 138,985 refugees resettled by NCWC, 1,817 in 705 families were received by the St. Louis Reset-

tlement Committee. Our questionnaire was sent to 389 Catholic refugee families still within the confines of the archdiocese. Thirty-three were not delivered because of changes in address. Of the 356 delivered, 221 questionnaires were returned; these form the basic study group for this report. Table 1 gives the breakdown of questionnaires sent and returned. The language of the questionnaire does not mean the recipients are necessarily nationals of that country. After careful consultation of their files, reports and records of interviews, the St. Louis Resettlement Committee sent out the various language questionnaires as they thought best. In case of doubt the questionnaire was sent in German. After two weeks a "follow-up" card was sent. The percentage of response was 62 per cent.

¹ Displaced Persons Commission, *The DP Story*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 25.

² Information received from NCWC files in New York.

³ With the help of Very Reverend Aloysius J. Wycislo, assistant director of the NCWC Resettlement Division in New York, and Reverend Victor T. Suren, diocesan director of the St. Louis Resettlement Committee for Displaced Persons, a detailed questionnaire was drawn up. After revision based on comment by Msgr. Wycislo and Father Suren,

Dr. Clement S. Mihanovich, chairman of the department of sociology at St. Louis University and other members of the department, the questionnaire was printed in English. Father Suren had the questionnaire translated into Croatian, German, Hungarian and Polish. The 62 items inquire about age and sex of the refugee, nationality and marital status, length of time in America, number of children, residence and occupation in Europe and in America, specific adjustment to life in the U. S. and practice of religion.

TABLE 1.—QUESTIONNAIRES SENT AND RETURNED

| Language | Sent | Answered | Per cent Delivered and Returned | Not Deliverable |
|-----------|------|----------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Croatian | 24 | 11 | 52 | 3 |
| English | 29 | 9 | 36 | 5 |
| German | 216 | 152 | 72 | 6 |
| Hungarian | 40 | 17 | 50 | 6 |
| Polish | 80 | 32 | 47 | 13 |
| Total | 389 | 221 | 62 | 33 |

TABLE 2.—PARTIAL DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY OF REFUGEES CARED FOR BY NCWC AND ST. LOUIS RESETTLEMENT COMMITTEE

| Nationality | NCWC ^a | | St. Louis ^b | |
|-------------|-------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|
| | Total | Per cent | Total | Per cent |
| Polish | 47,869 | 34.4 | 400 | 22.0 |
| Ukrainian | 23,599 | 16.9 | 89 | 4.8 |
| Lithuanian | 21,240 | 15.2 | 83 | 4.6 |
| Hungarian | 8,215 | 5.9 | 152 | 8.3 |
| German | 8,163 | 5.9 | 874 | 48.0 |
| Latvian | 6,579 | 4.7 | 17 | 0.9 |
| All others | 23,320 | 16.7 | 202 | 11.1 |
| Total | 138,985 | 99.7 | 1,817 | 99.7 |

^a NCWC data in personal letter from NCWC Resettlement Director, March 19, 1954.

^b St. Louis data from Resettlement Committee files.

When the questionnaires were returned, the answers were translated into English, the answers coded and various counts were made of the results.

WHO ARE "REFUGEES"?

A "refugee" is, in general, anyone who has left his homeland under some pressure: political, economic or social. This general term includes "displaced persons" and "German expellees," the latter being descendants of German ethnics who centuries ago settled in Eastern European countries and remained there until forced out by communism. Table 2 shows us that Polish, Ukrainian and Lithuanian refugees make up the largest group of those resettled in the United States since 1948 by the NCWC. In St. Louis, according to Resettlement Committee files, German nationals are almost half of those sent here by NCWC, with Polish refugees forming the next largest group.

The breakdown according to nationality of family head in our group also shows a clear predominance of German nationals, as seen in Table 3.

TABLE 4.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF CATHOLIC REFUGEES IN THE ST. LOUIS ARCHDIOCESE

| Age Group | Male | Female | Children | Total | Per Cent of Total Group |
|-------------------|------|--------|----------|-------|-------------------------|
| Under 16 | --- | --- | 220 | 220 | 30.5 |
| 16-44 years | 105 | 123 | 125 | 353 | 48.9 |
| 45 years and over | 87 | 61 | --- | 148 | 20.5 |
| Total | 192 | 184 | 345 | 721 | 99.9 |

GENERAL INFORMATION

Since the questionnaires were directed to the head of the family, the predominance of male replies reveals nothing of significance. The number of individuals covered by this report is 721: 192 males, 184 females, and 345 children. The sex of the children was not requested in the questionnaire. Not in-

TABLE 3.—NATIONALITY OF HEAD OF REFUGEE FAMILY

| Nationality | Frequency | Per cent |
|-------------|-----------|----------|
| German | 133 | 60.1 |
| Polish | 31 | 14.0 |
| Hungarian | 16 | 7.2 |
| Croatian | 8 | 3.6 |
| Lithuanian | 4 | 1.8 |
| Slovene | 4 | 1.8 |
| Roumanian | 3 | 1.3 |
| Ukrainian | 3 | 1.3 |
| Others | 4* | 1.8 |
| No answer | 12 | 5.4 |
| Total | 218 | 98.3 |

* "Others": one American, one Austrian, one Latvian, and one "from Yugoslavia."

cluded in totals of individuals are relatives living with refugees, about seventy persons in all.

In our group, 221 of the 721 indi-

viduals, 30 per cent, are under sixteen years of age. About half, 353 persons in all, are between sixteen and 44 years of age, with 148 persons being 45 and over. (see Table 4)

Of the 221 returns, 186 were filled out by males; 35 by females. Six of the 35 were from single women, seventeen from widows, one from a divorced woman.

Few refugee families (only five) have been in the U. S. for more than five years. Three families in our group have been here less than a year. About 67 per cent have been in the U. S. from one to three years.

VITAL STATISTICS

More than 88 per cent of the 186 male respondents are married. Most female respondents (48 per cent) are widows. Since coming to the States there have been 25 marriages in the immediate families of our group. In ten of these marriages, the person who answered the questionnaire was the one married. Eight of the 25 who married since coming to the United States married American citizens, while seventeen married other aliens.

We find 345 children in our group. How are these children divided among the 221 families? Two-thirds of the families have three children or fewer living with them in the U. S., while only nine per cent have four or more children with them in America. If the average size of the refugee family seems below what we might expect, it is to be remembered that we only asked for the number and age of children living

in the U. S. with their parents. We did not ask for the total number of offspring.

There have been few births among the families of the group since arrival in America. Twenty-two families reported one birth, four reported two and one reported three. Only four deaths were mentioned by respondents: two husbands, one wife and one son have died since coming to America.

RESIDENCE: RURAL OR URBAN?

Where do the refugees come from, and where do they resettle? About half lived in towns or villages in Europe before 1939.⁴ Table 5 gives this information. It also gives the location, or place of residence, of the refugees' first American resettlement, as well as their present location.

Under the 1948 DP Law, before admission of refugees, assurances covering jobs and housing were required by the DP Commission. The largest number were promised employment in farming.⁵ It is surprising, however, to learn that more than three-fourths of the refugees in our study settled first in a city. However, this fact may be explained somewhat by the tendency of Resettlement Committees to resettle refugees under their care near the larger U. S. cities, so far as possible. Further, it is well known that the general population shift in the U. S. has been from rural to urban areas. This is true of our group of 50 families whose original

⁴ This year was chosen because of the unsettled conditions in Europe since that time.

⁵ DP Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

TABLE 5.—LOCATION OF REFUGEE RESIDENCE IN EUROPE BEFORE 1939; LOCATION OF FIRST U. S. RESIDENCE, AND PRESENT LOCATION

| Type of Area | Europe | | 1st in U. S. | | Present | |
|-----------------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | Frequency | Per cent | Frequency | Per cent | Frequency | Per cent |
| Town or village | 119 | 53.8 | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| City | 86 | 38.9 | 169 | 76.4 | 209 | 94.5 |
| Farm | 14 | 6.3 | 50 | 22.6 | 8 | 3.6 |
| No answer | 2 | 0.9 | 2 | 0.9 | 4 | 1.8 |
| Total | 221 | 99.9 | 221 | 99.9 | 221 | 99.9 |

U. S. residence was a farm; only eight still remain.

More than three-fourths have moved one to three times during their stay in America, while about ten per cent have changed their place of residence four times or more. Only seventeen families still live in the place of original settlement. What are some of the reasons for these changes? There is a summary of reasons given for residence mobility by the 173 respondents. Most moved to better quarters: 35 per cent give this as their reason. In some instances their living quarters on arrival were too small, and they moved as soon as possible. Closely connected with this reason are those grouped together under "renter-owner difficulties." Either the rent was too high, or the landlord did not wish to rent to people with children; or the owner sold the house or needed the apartment and the refugees were forced to look elsewhere. Fourteen per cent give "job mobility" as their reason for moving. Some, dissatisfied with their work, sought employment elsewhere; others moved closer to their place of employment. In about ten per cent of the cases the reason for residence mobility was that a home had been purchased.

REFUGEE ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Economic adjustment is a "must" for the refugee. How are our refugees doing? Almost half of them are out of debt at present, and of those who are in debt, almost half owe for their homes. If we may judge economic adjustment from debts, the picture looks good. They pay debts quickly. Further, most of them make the necessary job-shifts without too much trouble.

For the most part our refugees are a middle-class, a working people. In Europe before 1939 about 28 per cent were farmers, either owners, foremen or laborers. Eighteen per cent were craftsmen, seven per cent professional or technical workers. Table 6 gives this information. A comparison between the European occupations and first U. S. work reveals a jump in the number of unskilled and service workers. Many refugees took factory and service (janitors, servants, etc.) jobs shortly after their arrival and a number still prefer this type of work. The number of farm workers is down, as is the number of professional and technical workers, while managers, officials and sales workers drop out completely.

Unskilled work heads the list of refugees' *present* occupations; this is

TABLE 6.—REFUGEE OCCUPATIONS: EUROPEAN PRE-1939; 1ST U. S. JOBS; PRESENT WORK

| Type of Occupation | Pre-1939 | | 1st U. S. | | Present | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | Frequency | Per cent | Frequency | Per cent | Frequency | Per cent |
| Farm: owners, foreman, laborers | 63 | 28.5 | 35 | 15.8 | 8 | 3.6 |
| Craftsmen | 41 | 18.5 | 41 | 18.5 | 48 | 21.7 |
| Housewife | 17 | 7.6 | 8 | 3.6 | 6 | 2.7 |
| Professional and technical | 16 | 7.2 | 7 | 3.1 | 9 | 4.0 |
| Operatives | 12 | 5.4 | 16 | 7.2 | 25 | 11.3 |
| Unskilled, exc. farm laborers | 7 | 3.1 | 60 | 27.1 | 65 | 29.4 |
| Service workers | 6 | 2.7 | 45 | 20.3 | 29 | 13.1 |
| Clerical | 6 | 2.7 | 1 | 0.5 | 8 | 3.6 |
| Sales | 4 | 1.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0.5 |
| Managers and officials | 3 | 1.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Not applicable | 43a | 19.4 | 1b | 0.5 | 11c | 4.9 |
| No answer | 3 | 1.3 | 7 | 3.1 | 11 | 4.9 |
| Total | 221 | 99.5 | 221 | 99.7 | 221 | 99.7 |

a Too young to work; in school

b Sick

c Six unemployed; four sick; one retired.

followed by craft and skilled work. Though declining, service workers are third. Operatives, semi-skilled workers, are in fourth place; farm workers have fallen to seventh. Slight gains are noted in professional, clerical and sales occupations. Such increases and decreases are to be expected when a population continues to shift from rural to urban localities.

Seventy individuals are still working at their first U. S. jobs. Reasons given for job mobility are: 1. more pay and chance for advancement, 2. poor working conditions, 3. personal reasons such as sickness, residence mobility, marriage, 4. dissatisfaction with job; wanted work at their own trade.

The refugees have taken long strides toward successful economic adjustment; their financial condition is good and they quickly adjust themselves to American work and working conditions.

GENERAL REFUGEE ADJUSTMENT

Marriage between alien and citizen is another measure of adjustment: of 25 marriages in our group, eight have been to Americans. Home-ownership is another: 28 per cent of the refugees own their own homes. Reasons alleged for refugee residence and job mobility resemble those of American citizens. Even debts have an American "flavor"; five per cent have bought cars on the "installment plan." Adjustment in a new land is sometimes hindered if the newcomers tend to become concentrated in any small section. In our group, 65 per cent do not live in a neighborhood occupied mainly by people of their own nationality.

Desire for citizenship, if linked with preparation for this goal, is another mark of adjustment. It is generally maintained that most refugees do not want to return to their former homes but expect to become citizens. In our group, 219 answered "yes" to the question: "Do you hope to become an Amer-

ican citizen?" Two individuals did not answer the question. We cannot report on how many of our refugees have already become citizens because under legislation effective December 24, 1952, applicants for naturalization are required to have resided continuously in the U. S. for five years.

Refugees soon learn the first step in preparation for citizenship is acquaintance with English. It is being learned by 214 of our respondents. One hundred and one are attending classes for this purpose.* Many are attending American history and citizenship classes.

What refugees think of America may be a measure of adjustment. When we asked our group, "Is America what you expected it to be like before you came?" 82 per cent said "yes"; ten per cent said "no"; the rest were "undecided" or did not answer. Table 7 records their reasons.

TABLE 7.—"WHY AMERICA IS OR IS NOT AS EXPECTED?"

| Answer | Frequency | Per cent |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Satisfied here | 55 | 24.8 |
| Freedom enjoyed here | 24 | 10.8 |
| Better laws and customs | 5 | 2.2 |
| Better living and working conditions | 5 | 2.2 |
| "Second Fatherland" | 4 | 1.8 |
| Worse | 16a | 7.2 |
| Multiple | 4 | 1.8 |
| Not applicable | 4b | 1.8 |
| No answer | 104 | 47.0 |
| Total | 221 | 99.6 |

a Work conditions and opportunities not as good as expected.

b Not here long enough.

Under the heading "satisfied here" are grouped some such expressions as: "pleasantly surprised," "completely satisfied here," "expectations far surpassed," "I heartily love America."

Under "freedom enjoyed here" are expressions such as: "security and no fear of communism," "one can live here as

* Our question should have included *past* as well as *present* class attendance, for some of the refugees did attend special classes, but stopped after a time.

a human being," "one can live in freedom here."

"Second Fatherland" includes: "America is my second Fatherland," "America has completely replaced my original Fatherland."

Some specific statements under the general heading "worse" are these: "taxes too high," "renting difficult if one has children," "too many communists," "I expected to earn more and save more."

No process of adjustment is without problems. The most frequently mentioned difficulty is language: almost thirty per cent mentioned this. The next highest category consists of persons with no difficulties: almost 25 per cent. Eleven per cent found some laws and customs strange; six per cent had difficulty with food and climate, unfriendly neighbors and poor living quarters.

The refugees specifically mentioned the following as being hard to accustom themselves to: "the penal laws," "the rearing of children," "the indecency of youth," "indecent movies," "dirty streets and windows," "difficulty in getting a loan," "different holy days of obligation," "the way people greet on meeting," "the lack of socialized medicine."

The most unusual comment came from a refugee married to an American girl: his hardest adjustment was "getting used to washing dishes."

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

Catholics interested in the welfare of the refugee are concerned about religious practices. Are they keeping the Faith? Years ago a writer refuted the charge that many early Catholic immigrants to our shores had lost the Faith.⁷ A more recent work points in the same direction.⁸

⁷ Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* Macmillan, New York, 1925, p. 221.

⁸ Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans*, Bruce, Milwaukee, 1953, p. 262.

Religious adjustment of the refugee presents a complicated problem. The Catholic refugee who comes to America has both definite advantages and definite disadvantages. First of all, the Catholic Church is everywhere essentially the same: Mass, Sacraments, priesthood, religious obligations are basically unchanged. Even the language barrier may be momentarily forgotten when the refugee sees a priest. American religious atmosphere, however, or the lack of it, may puzzle and disturb the refugee. He may go along with the secular trend and justify his actions because he cannot understand English. In our questionnaire we inquired about a few fundamentals: Mass, confession and Catholic education of the school-age children.

Our results show that three-fourths of the respondents attend Sunday Mass regularly. Few go to Mass more often than once a week, while about sixteen per cent do not attend Mass every Sunday. If regularity in attendance at Mass is an indication of faithful religious practice, we can say that most of our refugees are faithful to a basic practice of their religion.

Because of the language difficulty the sacrament of penance presents a special

Totalitarian Ideology

The totalitarian ideology is the definition of a power system—the power system directed by that group which came into being as its creator and claims to act as its realizer. Therefore, it is on the one hand a system which pretends to answer all questions and to solve all problems by its doctrine; on the other hand, it is very flexible, for it can be adapted to all situations according to the decisions and the interests of the ruling elite. Unauthorized criticism of details and rational arguments against the general line are without effect; they appear simply as expressions of evil and ignorant forces unable to see the whole truth.

Waldemar Gurlan in *Totalitarianism*

problem for the refugee. While some have the opportunity to confess in their native tongue, most must struggle with what English they can command. This fact, plus the European practice of infrequent confession, may well explain why almost one-fourth of the refugees in our group went to confession only once last year. We further asked the refugees if they would go to confession more often if they could do so in their own language. More than two-thirds answered "yes" to this question; about eleven per cent said "no."

American Catholics are particularly alert to the importance of the education of the young. Are refugee children attending Catholic schools? Practically all are. Of the total of 221 replies, only eight mentioned that all of their children were not attending a Catholic school. Reasons given for lack of attendance are: too expensive, too far from home.

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions are we to draw from this study? First, the various agencies, both national and local, have done a remarkable piece of work in resettlement of recent refugees. To bring large numbers of people to our shores, to secure sponsors, homes and jobs for them, to provide, in general, for their total resettlement, has been a gigantic task well done. Only because of these efforts have many of the refugees been able to make satisfactory adjustments in our country. Naturally more work remains to be done. Several specific areas in which work can be done are suggested by our study:

1. Closer contact between refugee and NCWC and/or the local Resettlement Committee should be maintained;
2. special classes, especially English classes, should be further encouraged;
3. refugees should be encouraged to join and take part in parish activities.

The success story of Catholic refugee families in St. Louis, and the good work

Religion and Social Order

Unfortunately, the increasing secularization of modern society has destroyed the belief in a transcendental, personal God among many. As a result modern ethical systems lack supernatural sanctions and the agreement of men in a common core of ultimate values. It remains to be seen whether the modern world will return to the religious premises upon which western culture was built or attempt to realize the brotherhood of man without the fatherhood of God.

John L. Thomas, S.J., in *Social Orientations*

done by NCWC, and especially Father Suren and his St. Louis Resettlement Committee, will encourage others to do still more for the refugee. Increased efforts will be needed, because the NCWC is beginning a drive to bring 50,000 more refugees to America. According to the new law, the 1953 Refugee Relief Act, more than 200,000 refugees may enter before the end of 1956. However, the new law has more exacting restrictions: refugees must be individually sponsored, whereas the DP program provided for blanket sponsorship by an approved agency. Under the new law more stringent checks of security, homes and jobs must be made. All this means more work for the agencies in question, and processing applications for sponsorship will necessarily be slower.

A report such as the present one, which points to the successful adjustment of a number of refugees in the U. S., should encourage those who can to sponsor future refugees. Further, successfully adjusted refugees who have been here long enough to apply for naturalization papers should be eager to aid in the sponsorship and adjustment of more refugees. Our history tells the story of many who have come here to escape persecution, whether religious, economic, social or political. The United States of America is still the "melting pot."

Colin Clark on

THE WELFARE STATE

PHILIP S. LAND, S.J.

COLIN CLARK, renowned, Australian Catholic economist, has been a sharp critic of Britain's welfare state. His latest frontal attack, contained in a little booklet, *Welfare and Taxation*, explodes a bit of a bomb-shell.

The Catholic Social Guild, which published the booklet, has for some time been blasting away at Britain's welfare and nationalization programs in its monthly, *Christian Democrat*, and in other publications, including Clark's earlier booklet, *The Idea of Equality*.

The *Christian Democrat* has scored the present program as costly, as destructive of both workers' and employers' incentives and as an unwarranted interference with people's freedom to do for themselves what they are able to do. The explosive force of Clark's study comes from a different source. He proposes to tear down the whole elaborate fabric of welfare services and to replace it by a system of voluntary services. This startling proposal the London *Economist* shakes its head over in its generally (and surprisingly) unfavorable comment. To the *Economist*, Mr. Clark offers England a fantastic proposal to reverse the irreversible.

The CSG editors, far from agreeing with the *Economist*, boldly assert that Mr. Clark "offers in a manner wholly free from the dogmatism of the doctrinaire a practical and positive alternative to state welfare, as we know it, in England today."

Clark is troubled that recipients of welfare benefits are being duped into

thinking that they get something free. They have been fed the myth that the rich pay for their dentures. As Bertrand de Jouvenal noted in his trenchant *Ethics of Redistribution*, Britain's welfare system is sustained by the belief that the whole welfare program amounts to a simple redistribution from richer to poorer.

It's true that the six million most prosperous Britons hand over to the government well over half their income. But this doesn't begin to meet the staggering demand for forty per cent of the net national product. Hence even the 36 million people in workers' families (seventy per cent of the population) pay an average tax per person of 25 per cent. That's one-fourth taken out of incomes averaging \$550 per person.

In terms of welfare Clark estimated that these 36 million people get \$3.5 billion of welfare services for about \$4.4 billion in taxes. (He neglects, however, to point out that these people get much more than welfare services. They share in the benefits of national defense and the government's general administration and normal services. Since revenues from the bottom seventy per cent of the population cover only welfare services, the rest of the people must meet the cost of government.) Nevertheless it is true that in proportion to their low incomes, the bulk of the people pays for welfare far more than they dream.

The worker is deluded into thinking he gets teeth and eye-glasses free by the fact that most of his taxes are hidden. On the average, people in this group pay ten per cent of their revenue bill

in income tax, another twelve per cent in national insurance contributions. Nearly eighty per cent of their taxes are hidden—mostly as sales taxes.

And the heavy tax burden is bound to get worse. Britain will have to raise "a great deal more . . . just to continue welfare services at their present level." All further increases in productivity may be swallowed up just caring for the increased number of aged. Clark wonders what will be left to provide incentives for men England depends on to do the work.

If the past discouraging effect of taxes is a good test, Clark thinks that England can't hope for much increase in production. In the post-war period excessive taxes caused a ten per cent loss of productivity and "each year we are falling further behind the level we might reach." He urges that taxes be cut from the present forty per cent of national income to 25 per cent. For him, that is the peril point, and he cites a personal note from Lord Keynes to support this view.

WELFARE ON YOUR OWN

At this point Clark makes his breath-taking proposal: give the people back their money and let them take care of their own welfare. He makes the challenging claim that on thirteen per cent of their income, England's workers could finance all welfare services they now get. Even better, besides getting welfare services and regaining control of their income, they would soon find themselves twenty per cent better off. This improvement would result from increased productivity inspired by new incentives to work.

In substance, Clark's program is to have unemployment insurance handled by trade unions, health by unions and Friendly Societies (co-ops and mutuals) and old-age and survivors benefits by a national insurance system administered by private, local bodies.

Unemployment compensation equaling half normal wages can be had for premiums of three-fourths of one per cent of wages, paid by both employers and employees, provided unemployment is kept down to about three per cent. Unions, in Clark's proposal, will handle insurance programs.

His voluntary health program also gives a larger role to private groups. He estimates that a worker can meet his family medical bills with insurance costing three to four per cent of his wage. The insuring job would gradually be taken over by unions and cooperatives. But all such groups must be small enough that they can administer their own programs. In his plan they should be so small that they could not own hospitals; this would be done by associated groups which would run the hospitals cooperatively. The chronically ill and terminal cases would, as now, remain dependents of the state.

Clark realizes that the present program cannot be reversed over night. But if government would charge the real cost of medical services, people would soon realize the huge cost and be willing to experiment with a different system.

Administration of old-age and survivors programs, unlike health and unemployment, Clark contends, is easy. A single, centrally-planned national body, free from state control, can do the job. Clark proposes that premiums be paid to unions and similar societies, acting as agents for the national body. These groups would, in turn, exercise control over it as members of a cooperative. State subsidies would be needed for persons who do not have enough working years left to build up their full share and for a few others.

This is an extremely sketchy precis of Clark's sketchy outline. To this skeleton Clark adds only the barest development. Big questions receive only a few

lines. For instance, why (if it is so) are old-age and survivors programs easier to handle than unemployment compensation? Again, is the whole proposal workable? Can groups as small as Clark stipulates provide actuarially sound insurance? Can complex medical programs run without professional administrators?

Clark gives no answers to our questions. For this reason the *Economist* says he has allowed too little space to look clearly at political and economic weak spots of his proposals. Clark's proposal, it thinks, is only "a first sketch of an impossible structure from which only a few practical bricks can be taken."

* * *

This is neither the time nor the place to determine whether Clark has blue-printed "an impossible structure." But it is important to emphasize some healthy elements in his approach.

First of all, he has a sane and realistic attitude toward the cost of social services. He is convinced that present costs under a state system are too high and that private control would reduce them.

Secondly, he wants state intervention in human life kept at a minimum. He says, "the concentration of power, political and economic, being built up will, before long, prove an irresistible temptation to some totalitarian group of men in this country, whether they be civil servants or politicians."

Most important of all, Clark's entire discussion is based upon a sound understanding of the principle of subsidiarity. Ultimately, this principle is rooted in the right and responsibility of the individual person to seek self-fulfillment. That self as it comes forth from God is already a participation in the Divine intellect and will. It is thereby possessed of the creative power to become ever more perfectly an imaging forth of God.

In working toward this self-fulfillment a man first reaches into his own resources before turning to the help of others, for by activating his own powers and initiating his own activity, he exercises the creative powers God gave him. He assumes directly his God-given right and responsibility to fulfill himself.

But precisely because a man does not have within himself all the resources needed to fulfill himself he seeks the *supplement* of society. And precisely because society is supplementary—a help (*subsidium*)—society interposes its assistance only insofar as fulfilling the individual persons requires it. This is what we mean by subsidiarity.

And it is in this regard that Professor Clark finds the welfare state of England failing badly. In the name of efficiency the welfare state has ceased to supplement and has supplanted. Now, Clark denies emphatically that Britain's welfare services are provided more efficiently than they could be by privately initiated activity. But even if the state were somewhat more efficient, he would deny that such additional efficiency is enough to warrant the state taking over what private persons can do satisfactorily, even if not with all the efficiency that might be got by submitting like robots to the direction of technocrats.

Efficiency, measured merely in terms of dollars and cents, is not *human* efficiency. It is not the efficiency of human persons who measure always both results and costs in terms of what the achieving has done to them. In such terms they rightly choose to be more men and have less wealth than to have more wealth and be less men.

The *Economist* and all thinking men may yet find themselves taking another look into Colin Clark's little book to see whether it may not hold more than just "a few practical bricks."

Notes on an Autobiographer

John LaFarge's "life" reveals a persistent journalist
battling social ignorance

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

FEW men in this country have exerted an influence comparable to that of John LaFarge. Some evidence of his ordinary work has been available in the columns of the *Catholic Periodical Index*, for he has been prolifically producing magazine prose since his appointment to the *America* staff in 1926. At the same time his interest in the improvement of opportunity for Negroes, a work he entered after his firsthand view of rural communities in southern Maryland, grew steadily and influenced others, so that quietly there grew up around the busy editor a whole structure of "interracial councils."

In fact, this particular development, along with his books and articles on interracial justice, has given Father LaFarge his secure reputation—a persistent and courageous pioneer in combating social ignorance and prejudice among Catholics particularly. It has somewhat obscured his great interest in the liturgical movement, in rural living, music, writing and art.

INSPIRES LEADERS

Yet beyond all these fields of action, there is, it seems to me, a special area of influence where John LaFarge excels—his influence on leaders. He has led many others to do many things which perhaps only he dreamed of doing.

When he looks back on his years, he must see this. Anyone who knows him can see it, and many people know him.

Yet it is hardly touched anywhere in this easy-reading account,¹ although in most autobiographies such an accomplishment may be treated at length. One could not imagine Berdyaev overlooking any such parallel work among the countless trifling details in *Dream and Reality*. Far from adverting to it publicly, Father LaFarge gives the reader the impression that he rather stumbled into a place of prominence by reason of some astrological or genealogical birthright. And this despite the plain fact that after his Jesuit career began, he lived in a world foreign and unbridgeable to the well-bred bluebloods of his boyhood.

Autobiographies are not, however, photographic portraits; they are rather reminiscences, anecdotes and highlights, usually. Such factors do not necessarily make for completeness, for they depend greatly on the author's memory—and John LaFarge admits to a horrible memory. (I recall the time he telephoned from Grand Central Station for train-fare to Boston—he had left it in his room—but procured it when he discovered that his magazine's business office was next door to the station.)

A trivial incident not narrated in the book illustrates this very point. Once, after an important meeting, Father LaFarge handed his transcript

¹ THE MANNER IS ORDINARY.—By John LaFarge, S.J. Harcourt Brace, New York, 1954, 408 pp. \$4.75.

to a public stenographer for typing and rushed out of the hotel to another gathering. On his return, he told me, the public stenographer handed back his original notes without any typed report. She could not read a word of his handwriting—and Father LaFarge, after a hopeless effort to decipher it, threw away the scribbled sheaf. In his 72 years there has doubtless been many a sheaf that was not legible or was forgotten or misplaced in the rush of a publicist's day.

One would like to know how John LaFarge came to associate himself so closely with the Maryland Negroes, beyond the usual round of parochial duties, and later evolved the fruitful plan of "interracial councils." One would ask too what gave him strength to keep pushing this extra-curricular activity despite the resentment he certainly met. One wonders also how he managed to remain tactful in the face of ignorance and inertia.

NO DREAMER

Even in this book (less, naturally than in *No Postponement*) he manages to insert an argument into the chronicle, a sure indication that he still sees an opportunity to win a cooperator for his various labors. Perhaps he is too busy to feel that his life has been lived out and his tremendous energies spent in only 72 years. He definitely is so preoccupied with the present and future that he will not waste time in backtracking and dreaming about the past.

Towards the end, in discussing his work as director of *America*, Father LaFarge implies that his aim as editor has been "to influence the thought of those who make the policies of the times." (p. 303) Leaders and policy-makers come from all corners—"the avoiders, who like to escape the whole discussion and take refuge in a purely but falsely posed spiritual solution" and "the extremists, the extreme right and the extreme left, both of whom have

Question

Only about one-third of the world's men, women and children have enough to eat. The undernourished two-thirds—some of them starving—are also denied proper medical care and even the most elementary education. Can a Christian be satisfied with that situation?

H. F. REISSIG, *Social Action*, February, 1954

become all too familiar to us in recent years." With many of these Father LaFarge's policies and ideas may not sit well. To them he offers certain comment, explanation and justification.

In thus not having pushed overboard earlier and in now seeking to explain and win cooperation, along many lines of action, Father LaFarge shows himself to be a true, prudent and brave social leader. In the heat of bitterness silence may be the best answer to opposition, but one can try a reasonable approach at a later day. One will work alone, bravely and steadily, and reap a certain personal merit through devotion and sacrifice; but one can also permit and induce others, talented and eager or indifferent, to cooperate or supplement; and very much will be accomplished.

Such an example of "leadership influence" is probably the greatest value of *The Manner is Ordinary*. One would expect that the presentation by an editor with such a background would be clear and clean and charming, and so it is. But it is done even better than we might expect. It is graceful and brilliant and inescapably engaging—so much so that many have found they must read it straight through.

As an autobiography it does what many fail to do. It covers the big points and longer periods and phases, true, but it leaves enough unsaid that may better be said by a biographer.

OUR BISHOPS SPEAK . . .

On International Relations

MICHAEL H. JORDAN, S.J.

A STUDY of the annual statements of our Bishops in the concrete historical circumstances in which they were written is badly needed. At this time, however, we would like to view their teachings of 1919-1951 as a collected whole,¹ looking only at their treatment of problems arising from modern international relations.

With honest good will on the part of nations, our Bishops believe that a new era in international relations can be realized. (355) They clearly teach, however, that "national sovereignties, rightly interpreted" need not be surrendered to a world government, although each nation must satisfy its obligations in the family of nations. (117) They favor a strong world organization of the family of nations while demanding the independence of sovereign states. Is the contradiction real or apparent? The answer can only be found in a detailed examination of their collected statements.

UNITY OF HUMAN RACE

God, in creation, has given the human race an essential unity which binds all men into a brotherhood as comprehensive as humanity itself. The division of our human family into nations and races in no

way impairs the essential unity of mankind. (117) God has made the nations mutually interdependent for their full life and growth. An international community of nations does exist, and the modern problem is how to organize it. (123) If the international organization is rightly conceived (based on the recognition of objective moral obligation and not merely the binding force of covenant) and seeks to preserve world peace by promoting international cooperation for the common good of the international community (123) then it will be in full harmony with the divine plan of human solidarity. (117)

Since today nations can aid one another most effectively by the organization of international peace (56) they must unite in setting up international institutions for preserving world peace and mutual assistance. (117) This requires the collaboration of all nations (128) and involves adopting common policies for solving common economic, social and other humanitarian problems, as well as promoting international cooperation. (123-24)

THE NATURAL LAW

Preliminary to any sincere effort in realistic world cooperation is the frank recognition of differences in ideologies, thought and policy between Russia and the Western democracies. The basis of cooperation must be mutual adherence to justice. (127) But more is needed, for the natural law, whose author and vindicator is God, is the only real bond of sane common action in the international community. (143)

Although God is the ruler of nations and individuals, (56) His law of right and wrong is flouted in the international com-

¹ *Our Bishops Speak, 1919-1951*, edited by R. M. Huber, O.F.M. Conv., S.T.D., Bruce Pub. Co., 1952, 380 pp. This book contains the collected documents of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Where possible, the exact words of these statements are used, but direct quotation marks are frequently omitted for the sake of readability. Numbers enclosed in the text with parentheses indicate one of the pages in this book where the idea expressed may be found.

munity for reasons of national expediency more openly and disastrously today than ever before. The tragic fallacies of "power politics," with its balance of power, its spheres of influence in a system of puppet governments and the resort to war as a means of settling international difficulties must be repudiated absolutely. (123)

God and the fact that men and nations are responsible to Him are realities demanding recognition in any realistic ordering of life. (144) Further, there can be no hope of world reconstruction within God's natural law without according to man the dignity that Christ conferred on every human being. (285) By rejecting Christ and His principles of conduct, human society and government have lost sight of man's dignity and rights. Nations, individuals and groups, governed by Christian charity, must strive to work with other nations as members of a family, not as enemies trying to ensnare one another. Their suspicion, fear and mistrust must be destroyed by Christian charity. (287)

WHO SHOULD JOIN?

International organization must be universal, and its constitution, democratic. Every nation must stand before the international organization on its rights, not on its power. (123) Shrewdly arranged covenants that disregard God's commands cannot guarantee peace and security. (56)

The common good of every nation is inseparably connected with the common good of the international community. (123) The international organization should demand as a condition of membership that every nation guarantee in law, and respect in fact, innate rights of men, families and minority groups in civil and religious life. A nation which refuses to accord its own people full enjoyment of innate human rights cannot be relied upon to cooperate in the international community for the maintenance of a peace which is based on the recognition of national freedom. Such a nation will pursue its own selfish international policies, while paying lip service to international cooperation. (125) Only nations that adhere to right principles in their domestic administration will cooperate in the common good of the family of nations. (118)

Social Justice

Social justice, then, is a virtue that must pervade the whole life of man as he is a member of society—a social animal. Each single member—head, foot, ear, eye, hand—must make everything that it is and does a contribution to the well-being of the whole body. Aegidius Doolan, O.P., *Order and Law*

In the concept of sovereignty we seem to have the basic cause of much confusion among many. What are "national sovereignties, rightly interpreted"? All sovereignty, traditional Catholic teaching tells us, comes from God. The Bishops accept this teaching and amplify it.

Since God is the Ruler of nations no less than of individuals, His law is supreme over the external relations of states as well as in the internal affairs of each. The sovereignty that makes a nation independent of other nations does not exempt it from its obligations toward God; nor can any covenant, however shrewdly arranged, guarantee peace and security, if it disregard the divine commands. These require that in their dealings with one another, nations shall observe both justice and charity. By the former, each nation is bound to respect the existence, integrity and rights of all other nations; by the latter, it is obliged to assist other nations with those acts of beneficence and good will which can be performed without undue inconvenience to itself. From these obligations a nation is not dispensed by reason of its superior civilization, its industrial activity or its commercial enterprise; least of all, by its military power. On the contrary, a state which possesses these advantages is under a greater responsibility to exert its influence for the maintenance of justice and the diffusion of good will among all peoples. So far as it fulfills its obligation in this respect, a state contributes its share to the peace of the world: it disarms jealousy, removes all ground for suspicion and replaces intrigue with frank cooperation for the general welfare. (56)

Christianity and Freedom

To the claim of the State to omniscience, only the Christian religion . . . has ever provided an answer. The civilization to which our religion has given birth is therefore, in fact as well as in theory, unique. It represents a practical achievement to which hundreds of millions of human beings have owed, and still today owe, the fact of freedom.

Douglas Jerrold,

The Lie about the West

If God and His Divine Son possess absolute sovereignty over men and nations, then national sovereignty is necessarily limited in its external and internal actions. Since the common good of every nation is inseparably connected with the common good of the international community, (123) then the limited sovereignty of independent nations and their equality exempt no nation from its obligations toward God (56) or from its obligations to the international community. It does demand, however, that the juridical personality of each nation be recognized in its international relations and remain free in its internal government. (352)

. . . AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In matters of internal government, national sovereignty is limited by the innate rights of men and families, God-given rights which may not be violated by civil authority. (125) The authority to violate inalienable rights of subjects is not included in the sovereignty of any nation. (357) Nor does any nation have God's authority to invade family freedom, abrogate private ownership, or impede, to the detriment of the common good, economic enterprise, cooperative undertakings for mutual welfare, or organized works of charity sponsored by groups and citizens. (118)

Governments must safeguard the God-given rights of their peoples and all groups must respect them. (289) All nations

should embody in their political structure the guaranty of the free exercise of native human rights, encouragement in the practice of virtue, an honest concern for the common good and a recognition of the inviolability of the human person. (117-18)

"The primary duty of the state," Pope Pius XI once declared,² [is] "to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests, and thus foster and promote harmony among the various ranks of society." (290) The state that usurps total powers, by that very fact, becomes a despot to its own people and a menace to the family of nations. (111)

To remove the dangers to world peace that come from the unjust treatment of minorities, the denial of civil and religious liberties and other infringements on the in-born rights of men, the nations should adopt an International Bill of Rights, in which men and groups everywhere would be guaranteed the full enjoyment of their human rights. Active participation in international organization ought to be conditioned on acceptance of this International Bill of Rights. (357)

The most fundamental human rights are violated by some nations, with men being forced by some despotic leaders into political slavery. (143) Such inhumanities should have no place in our civilization (129) since they menace world peace. The ideology of any nation that violates innate rights of men in its internal government is the concern of the international community. (125)

The first norm for the right ordering of internal life of nations must be social recognition of the absolute sovereignty of God and of moral law. (117) The international organization must never violate but rather safeguard and defend the rightful limited sovereignty of nations, a right coming from the nation's juridical personality. Limited sovereignty never absolves a nation from its obligations in the international community. (125)

THE LAWS OF NATIONS

Since 1942 our Catholic Bishops have urged study and acceptance by all nations, large and small, of the Law of Nations (*jus gentium*). This law is basically noth-

² *Quadragesimo Anno*.

ing more than right and wrong in international relations. It does not impose on any nation surrender of legitimate sovereignty or abandonment of cultural resources. It envisions all nations living under the law of the all-just God and prizes righteousness above material aggrandizement without overlooking the temporal happiness of peoples. (233)

There will be no genuine progress in international life unless strong, courageous leaders, with the full support of their peoples, build a sound world organization. To yield to the fear that this international cooperation cannot be accomplished is defeatism. Facing the fact of human weakness in nations as well as in individuals, they clearly urged us to face it in order to conquer it, and not in the spirit of paralyzing fatalism. (355) Many Catholics, it seems, have failed to grasp this opportunity to help create a new era of genuine progress in the community of nations.

The Holy Father "envisions a world in which sovereign peoples, proud of their heritages, will live together under the Law of Nations." The Bishops also state that

Our own country is contending against strong, resourceful, clever enemies, precisely for a world order under the Law of Nations. Without surrender of our sovereignty or injury to our free institutions, proud that we have been accused by an enemy nation of idealism, we are ready to make hard sacrifices and to give generously of our abundant resources to outlaw forever the domination of international life by brute force, lying propaganda, and privileged nationalism . . . (233)

Is the Law of Nations based upon God's moral law sufficient for a sound organization of the international community? Our Bishops do not think so. International law must govern international relations. (123) International law must be properly developed and codified (124) and must reflect the law of nature and of God, for human laws lose stability and binding force when God and moral law are not given social recognition. (118) Consequently, positive human law, which comes from treaties and international conventions, is necessary and must be in accord with God-given nat-

ural law. The principles of moral law in their international references must be enacted into positive law by a competent international authority; to these will be added positive treaty provisions and the charter and legislation of our international organization. (124)

The international organization should have a World Court to which disputes among nations must be submitted, and whose authority should be strictly judicial. This court should be empowered to render decisions in cases submitted to it either by any party in interest or by the international organization. (124) It is obvious that no nation should sit in judgment of its own case, (123) and that the World Court would be useless without having the authority to refer its decisions to the international organization for execution. (124) In international disputes affecting the common good, nations refusing to submit their cases to the World Court should be treated as outlaw nations. (124) The World Court and the international organization should have the authority to make changes in the peace settlements and treat-

—Law for Union-breaking—

THERE is more than one way to skin the workingman. The easiest and quickest way is to break up his union, or make his union so weak that it cannot bargain effectively. If you can get men to quit the union, they will soon be fighting among themselves to see who will work for the lowest wages.

I am telling you nothing new when I say that some pretty expensive campaigns are going on in Missouri, Kansas and Maryland and in a number of other states, telling the people that they should vote for laws that will weaken all unions . . .

The anti-union statutes are called by the press "the right-to-work laws." Actually, they guarantee no right to work at all . . . The only right these proposed laws guarantee is the right to work at less than union wages. The sole purpose behind this type of legislation is to hold down wages and to hand the knife to employers to cut wage rates.—Monsignor James H. O'Neill, in a sermon for Labor Day, 1964, Pueblo, Colo.

ies which may be required in view of past mistakes or changed conditions. (356)

Pope Benedict XV once urged all nations to "set up in place of armies a court of arbitration," and our Bishops believe that the obligatory arbitration of international disputes would be a signal advance in international relations. (125) If moral force of right can replace material force of arms, Christian charity and the principle of brotherhood will seek to settle all matters in dispute between nations by arbitration. Charity will, nevertheless, condemn as criminals those who promote strife between nations in order to acquire individual or national riches. (287)

The international organization must have at its disposal resources for coercing outlaw nations even by military measures. (124) Any future war should be undertaken only as punishment meted out to outlaw nations. (125-26) In the punishment of the guilty, justice and reasonable reparations for damage done will be demanded. (129) Justice must be stern, but not born of hatred or vengeance. (358) In dealing with such cases punitive justice must be anchored in the concept of individual responsibility, (129) and we must keep in mind the common good of the whole world. (358)

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

People have been longing through the centuries for a new era in which nations will live together in justice and charity, cooperating as sovereign states in assuring all men the full enjoyment of rights, as free men in free nations with their freedom secured under law. (125) As means of communication and transportation become more perfect, economic interdependence of nations becomes more apparent. (281) Despite the growing complexity of our international problems, international cooperation in debt agreements, in markets for finished goods, in access to raw materials, etc., can solve these problems. (282)

The entire human race has right of access on reasonable terms to the resources, markets and settlements of the whole earth. (282) The oneness and solidarity of mankind makes economic isolation impossible. Economic nationalism, if carried to

extremes, may be profoundly immoral; (282) any selfish, monopolistic control of raw materials needed for the economic stability of other nations must be prevented. (124) Rich nations must remember that the ownership of property never dispenses them from social obligations of stewardship and that their inventive and productive genius obliges them to serve the reasonable needs of other nations. (124)

Our international organization, finally, must seek to guarantee to weak and poor nations economic opportunities which are necessary for reasonable standards of living. No nation can be unconcerned about conditions in any country which permit millions of workers to be without an opportunity to secure from their labor adequate family support. (124) The nations of the world, furthermore, must assist peoples now in tutelage to a full juridic status in the family of nations. (117)

THE UNITED NATIONS

Our country, the Bishops tell us, has acted wisely in deciding to participate in the United Nations world organization. (128) The alternative is world chaos. We must realize, however, that selfishness, rivalry, suspicion, intrigue and hatred of nations are working against the great aims we desire of world justice, world charity and world order. (287) We must also realize that the attempt to organize the international community after World War I failed not only because of the inherent defects of its charter but also because the nations were not disposed to recognize their duty to work together for the common good of the world. (123)

In the spirit of constructive criticism, our Bishops have brought to light some of the outstanding defects of the United Nations as it was proposed in San Francisco. It would be well to reexamine these defects before any future revision of the Charter takes place.

The Charter did not provide sound, institutional organization of international society, since the Great Powers are given a status above law. (128) In refusing to submit themselves to the world authority of an organized international community under law, the Great Powers made clear their desire for only an alliance to main-

tain peace and international cooperation. (357)

The Charter's provisions for a Security Council, whose functions, as proposed, are too broad, shows this clearly. The Bishops hope that the Council will be made more responsible to the General Assembly, whose functions are too restricted, and in time that the Security Council will become merely an executive committee acting in emergencies for the General Assembly. (356)

Security Council voting procedure is inconsistent with the sovereign equality of nations. To give any nation in perpetuity a virtual veto on parity of treatment for all is both inequitable and dangerous, since the veto gives a preferred status not only to the powerful aggressor, but even to any aggressor with a powerful patron. To extend the veto to the execution of decisions of the World Court to which, by explicit provision all justifiable disputes should be referred, is a manifest denial of a prime attribute of juridical institutions. (356)

ATLANTIC CHARTER

Our Bishops place no confidence in a peace which does not carry into effect, without reservations or equivocations, the principles of the Atlantic Charter. (122) They believe that giving up the ideal of peace under the pretext of false realism will bring us face to face with the catastrophe of atomic war, (127) since no international organization can maintain a peace which is unfair and unjust. (123)

Civil Liberties or Not

We do not agree with everything the American Civil Liberties Union has done in the past or is doing today. We do not like some of the compromised liberal thinkers on its national committee. But we believe that the un-American action of the American Legion in Indiana this week is a vivid demonstration that this state needs the American Civil Liberties Union or an organization of a similar nature.

Editorial, *The Indiana Catholic and Record*, November 20, 1953.

The solution of the Polish question disappointed all who hoped for the fulfillment of the Atlantic Charter, (357) as did the ominous silence on Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, absorbed into an alien system of government without their free consent. (358) The Bishops have also publicly mourned and aided by their prayers the suffering thousands delivered to the torturers in the dungeons of Russia: the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, eastern Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, eastern Germany, Mongolia, China and northern Korea. (239-40)

Our Bishops, however, hope that all known defects of U. N. and its Charter will be eliminated in some future constituent assembly and have expressed the wish that a sound institutional organization of the international community will develop from the recognition of the rights and duties of international society. (128)

Today's world-wide conflict, as the Bishops see it, is between two diametrically opposed philosophies of life. A philosophy of life based on the spiritual and the supernatural leaves no place for indifference or neutrality towards the materialistic philosophy of life. The forces of atheism and neopaganism, with their offspring, communism and despotism, are attempting to rob life of all that is spiritual and supernatural. (310) Secularism, which disregards God, and militant atheism, which utterly denies Him, are both insidious hindrances to world reconstruction within God's natural law. (144)

To remain indifferent to what is happening before our very eyes is not only blameworthy but criminal; for Catholics such culpability is doubly grave because they have before them a clear and explicit program of action. For more than half a century the Popes have been calling on Catholics and all believers to make common cause against a common enemy. (311) The Bishops urge us to endeavor to eliminate from human society the causes of war and, inspired by the Supreme Pontiff's leadership, to work and pray for a true international peace, (344) a world-wide peace which will guarantee the rights and honor of all nations and satisfy their vital needs. (348)

TRENDS

Denounces Church Segregation

Before the Second General Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston last August, Rev. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, called for an end of Church segregation. He called continued racial discrimination "the great scandal in the church, especially in the United States and South Africa."

"It will be a sad commentary on our life and time," Dr. Mays observed, "if future historians can write that the last bulwark of segregation based on race and color in the United States and South Africa was God's church."

Steps Toward School Integration

Despite legislative action in Louisiana and Mississippi to continue segregated schools, and similar proposals in several others, a good measure of compliance with the Supreme Court decision of May 17 has been revealed in the South.

Border areas of Arkansas, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia took first steps toward integration of Negro and white school children. Moreover, Catholic schools in the diocese of Raleigh, North Carolina, under Bishop Vincent Waters; in the diocese of Little Rock, Arkansas, under Bishop Albert Fletcher; in Nashville and vicinity under Bishop William L. Adrian; in Richmond, under Bishop Peter Ireton, and in San Antonio, Texas, under Archbishop Robert Lucey, set official policies of integration.

The San Antonio and Richmond announcements came prior to the court decision. As private schools, the Catholic institutions were not bound by the decision on public schools.

Some school districts in affected states will integrate next year, according to plans laid after the decision. Thus wider integration has already been scheduled.

School authorities generally felt there would be no trouble about integrating, in the border states.

To encourage responsible attitudes and constructive action, many Protestant bodies in the South issued statements approving the court decision. The Southern Baptists (June) asked for Christian conduct "in the working out of necessary adjustments." Five Methodist Conferences (Florida, North Georgia, Louisiana, North Arkansas and Southwest Texas) called for responsible effort to implement the decision. The Southern Presbyterians at their 94th General Assembly in June, urged their members to aid implementation; Northern Presbyterians on May 25 received the court decision "with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our Church has stood in principle." Delegates of the Department of Christian Social Relations, (southeastern) province of Sewanee, of the Episcopal Church requested public authorities to support the ruling and put it into effect, and urged Episcopalians to "examine their own responsibilities in seeing that this ruling is accepted in each community with calm and quiet consideration and support" (May 18). The Congregationalists on June 20 asked members to develop public support for the decision.

Southern churchwomen from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia, meeting June 21-22 at Atlanta, stated, "We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals."

Events in Indo-China

Last June French military forces evacuated the southern Red river delta. Since 1953 most villages of the area had been in Viet Minh hands. The area, comprising the dioceses of Phat Diem, Bui Chu, Thai Binh and part of Hanoi, one of the most heavily populated and agriculturally rich of all Asia, had a total population of more than 2,000,00 and about 450,000 Catholics.

Immediately after the Geneva agreement, July 21, 1954, the French announced plans for civil evacuation of the area beginning July 27. Forty-eight hours before, Red forces took over administration of almost all of the region's 7,000 villages. As a result, only some 12,000 former militiamen and about 10,000 non-combatants escaped.

The apostolic delegate, Msgr. John Dooley, resident at Hue, just south of the partition line, issued instructions urging clergy to remain with their people under Red control. The directives were undelivered or misunderstood because almost eighty per cent (roughly 350 out of 450) accompanied the escapees. Bishop Thaddeus Le Huu Tu (Phat Diem) escaped by boat; Bishop Peter Pham Hgoc Chi (Bui Chu) came overland to Hanoi; Bishop Santos Ubierna (Thai Binh) remained in his see. All sisters from the area are reportedly evacuated.

Throughout North Vietnam the number of evacuees is smaller than expected. The South Vietnam (Diem) government had issued an appeal to "make the North a desert for the Viet Minh." A flood of possibly three million refugees had been anticipated (although official estimates set the high at one million).

During the first two weeks only 85,000 had requested evacuation. At this rate, only 250,000 can be removed before termination of evacuation in late October.

The South Vietnam government, which received total independence on September 6 under the premiership of Ngo Dinh Diem, a Catholic and militant anti-Marxist, has denounced the Geneva pact and has carried on negotiations to enlist a cordon of allies. In June a Vietnam delegation visited Chiang Kai-shek at Taipei, Formosa, and, under the leadership of ex-president Tam, attended an Asiatic anti-

communist conference convoked by President Rhee at Seoul, Korea, just before his visit to the United States.

Mr. Tran Van Chuong, secretary of state in the Diem government, has been appointed ambassador to Washington, and his wife is being sent as Vietnam representative in Tokyo.

Foreign Missionaries in China

The latest authoritative estimate of foreign Catholic missionaries in China, dated August 1, 1954, sets the total at 121, of whom 98 are not in jail. Among the group are five bishops, 72 priests, four lay brothers and forty sisters. The largest single group is composed of members of the Society of Jesus, 28. Other religious groups in the order of foreigners still in China are: Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, 22; Franciscans, nine; Society of the Divine Word, eight; Scheut Fathers, seven; Sisters of Mercy, six.

During the past three years some 2,000 priests have been expelled from China; no estimate of the number of brothers and nuns is available. Nor has any accurate estimate of the number of native Chinese priests and religious still alive been possible.

Red Anniversary in Tibet

Last May 23 the Chinese rulers of Tibet celebrated the third anniversary of their conquest by announcing completion of air fields at Lhasa, Gyantse, Shigatse and Gartok. Other fields have been reported in more remote areas, but no confirmation has come from Red authorities.

In addition to the fields, primitive roads have been remade, especially those leading from Tsing Hai in western China to Lhasa, from Lhasa, along the feet of the Himalayas, to Gartok and a third, still incomplete, from Gartok northward to far western China. The engineering and transport problems which these projects involve can be estimated from the fact that passes along these routes range up to 20,000 feet in height.

In general, Chinese treatment of Tibetans has been considerate but there are no unequivocal signs of acceptance of the regime by the people of Tibet.

BOOKS

THE TEMPER OF WESTERN EUROPE.—

By Crane Brinton. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, 118 pp. \$2.50.

Professor Crane Brinton always makes provocative reading. This bright little book is an expansion of some lectures given last year at the University of Virginia. It records impressions and conclusions gleaned from six months of travel in Britain, France, Switzerland and Spain during the second half of 1952. Mr. Brinton disagrees with the forebodings of William Shirer's *Midcentury Journey* and the even gloomier witness of Arthur Koestler's *Age of Longing*. By temperament an optimist, Brinton finds that despite the destruction of two wars Europe has more people and a greater total wealth than at any time in the past. Out of that past, he says, there flows something which he names "multanimity," and in this continuing tradition he locates a great hope for the future freedom of Europe. The future of Europe is not the dim one we Americans too readily imagine. We are mistaken when we write her off as old, unable to make new responses, worn-out physically and spiritually. *Il faut cultiver notre jardin*, said Voltaire's *Candide*. Mr. Brinton sums up: "This the Europeans are now doing. It is still a fine garden, and they are still good gardeners."

THURSTON DAVIS, S.J.
America

NEW TOWER OF BABEL.—By Dietrich von Hildebrand. Kenedy, New York, 1953, 243 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Dietrich von Hildebrand himself gives more ably than could anyone else the aim and spirit of this series of essays: "These essays are intended to examine various manifestations of escape from God in our present epoch. Of course every such escape is futile . . . Every attempt to ignore God shares the fate of the Tower of Babel."

The title of the book, *The New Tower of Babel*, is the same as that of the first of seven essays all dealing with the broad topic of modern error as it presents itself in a variety of forms. The titles of the individual essays, which vary from thirty to fifty pages in length, are aptly indicative of their content: The Dethronement of Truth, The New Functionalism in the Light of Christ, Catholicism and Unprejudiced Knowledge, The Role of Reverence in Education, Beauty in the Light of the Redemption, Efficiency and Holiness.

The book as a whole is strong. No one could ever accuse the author of lacking either the courage to take a positive stand, or the power of expression to maintain that stand with conviction. And Dr. von Hildebrand, as is to be expected, is always on the side of the angels. There is a solid Catholicity about the work, a staunch, uncompromising loyalty to Christ and His principles, that has both a cleansing and a strengthening effect; yet all the while there is the sound philosopher whose association would not be spurned by either Plato or Aristotle.

This reviewer feels that one would be amply rewarded in reading this excellent volume through acquaintance with the masterful development of man's sublime dignity in his true role as a creature of God; and with the need for reverence in education, which was preceded by a ringing description of the function of a Catholic university.

PATRICK J. HOLLORAN, S.J.
White House, St. Louis

THE VANISHING IRISH.—By John A. O'Brien, ed. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1953, vii, 258 pp. \$4.00.

The condition of the population of Ireland, long in decline and now atrophied at the point of stability, is a well-known sociological oddity, "the enigma of the Western world," as the sub-title to this volume declares. The book is a popular presentation of the problem and its causes. Nor is the

discussion limited to the state of suspended animation in Ireland; two chapters deal with the decline of the Irish as a distinct ethnic group elsewhere, particularly in the United States and Canada. Although the contributors include five interested Americans of Irish descent, Fr. O'Brien has generally followed the wise policy of letting the Irish speak for themselves, and the nine Irish contributors are among Ireland's best-known writers, including Sean O'Faolain, Shane Leslie, Paul V. Carroll and Bryan MacMahon.

Such a cast insures a brisk literary treatment rather than a systematic and scientific one. John D. Sheridan, typically perhaps, says: "I am not an expert, but at least I am an inmate;" (p. 186) and the Irish authors write with the inmate's penetrating insight into his lot and with his passion for reform. As a result, all of the factors involved are discussed: emigration, late and few marriages, the short period of Irish independence, the rural and industrial economy, the drabness of the rural community, the industrial poverty of the towns, the power of the aged, maternal possessiveness, the juvenility of the men, Irish puritanism, censorship, the dearth of intellectual life, the over-cautious conservatism of the clergy and of political leaders. Discussions such as these are healthy, timely and indispensable preliminaries to the solution of Ireland's basic problem.

A. J. HUMPHREYS, S.J.
Loyola University, Los Angeles

THE GREAT POWERS AND EASTERN EUROPE.—By John A. Lukacs. American, New York, 1953, xii, 878 pp. \$7.50.

This work covers the diplomatic history of Europe since the end of World War I; a brilliantly written epilogue presents the conclusions about the present problematic state of international relations. Extensive notes, carefully selected references, helpful tables, maps and bibliography facilitate reading.

The author begins with "the illusion of independence" which held the smaller central European nations under its spell after the Paris treaties. Then he analyzes "the diplomatic revolution" (1934-38, culminating in Munich) and finally concentrates

two-thirds of his stately volume on the continental European fate "between German hammer and Russian anvil," the "war of wars" and its further political implications.

Prof. Lukacs, who escaped from his native Hungary in 1946, has presented a comprehensive, well documented study of recent European great-power politics. In this reviewer's opinion, his scholarly work is one of the best available standard texts, well organized and objective work, written by a brilliant scholar who was in a position to draw extensively from personal and professional experience, from deep-rooted allegiance to his nation and to a common European and Western heritage and from solid research. The first chapter, "Illusion of Independence," which discusses the fatal early '30's, is particularly well done and offers a correct analysis of central and eastern Europe's attempts to escape totalitarian dictatorships.

Minor inaccuracies can easily be corrected or remain open to further discussion: Suvich, the former Italian under-secretary of foreign affairs and later ambassador to Washington, was never minister to Vienna. (p. 62) The Hitler-Halifax conversation of November, 1937, (p. 81) was almost—and was, indeed, taken—as a blank check given to Hitler in regard to Austria and Czechoslovakia (see Paul Schmidt, *Hitler's Interpreter*, Macmillan, p. 77; K. Schuschnigg, *Austrian Requiem*, Putnam, p. 17).

The casual remark that "Goemboes, the Hungarian premier, nurtured dangerous sympathies towards the third Reich" (p. 58) does not tell the full story. Not only Goemboes, but the whole official Hungarian policy in the period between the two wars was focused on revisionist claims against Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and, to a minor degree, Austria. With the exception of the legitimist group, Hungary became by this aspiration Germanophile, with all the inevitable implications for the functioning of the Roman protocols as a political instrument. This was the reason why Hodža's thoroughly sincere efforts at a rapprochement after 1936 did not materialize and why Austria's offer of a military alliance in 1937 received a politely cool negative answer. This does not mean that Hungarian diplomats were pro-nazi,

but they still set their hope on Germany as the leading revisionist power.

These and other minor issues are easily explained by different shades of perspective, common for various reasons to most continental Europeans. Nor is reference to them here intended in any way to detract from the merits of an excellent piece of historical writing which deserves high credit and widest attention.

K. v. SCHUSCHNIGG
St. Louis University

FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORLD REPUBLIC.—By Giuseppe Antonio Borgese. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1953, 328 pp. \$6.50.

Prof. Giuseppe Borgese died before completing this book. Portions of his other writings were edited into the manuscript, and the result is an unhappy one. But this is not the primary defect. Like Professor Northrop of Yale, in his *The Meeting of East and West*, Professor Borgese dilutes Christianity and, blending it into a hodgepodge of all other beliefs, presents the mixture as the basis for world government.

No realistic observer would dispute Borgese's characterization of the UN as the "reincarnation of the League," or "nearly as impotent as the League." Few would dispute his contention that the solution does not lie in "strengthening" the UN. There is nothing to strengthen. But nowhere does Borgese tell us how he plans to transform Russia into a willing member of the World Republic. Nor, for that matter, does he inform us how to transform that militant nationalism which today gnaws away at the European Union into a love-your-neighbor attitude.

Like so many advocates of world government, Borgese sees little to choose from between the Free World led by the United States and the slave world led by the U.S.S.R. For example: "The East, immolating the individual to the social Moloch, the West [fraudulently] delaying indefinitely the submission of monopoly and racialism to social discipline"—or—"The Two act in a spirit of Titanism . . . [they] have been compelled to a closed combat." Together with many self-styled "liberals," Borgese equates the light-grey

of the West with the total darkness of the East. Like them too, he looks upon communism more kindly than fascism: ". . . but peace, universal and permanent, is the goal they, unlike the fascists, propose to all men."

Ridiculing "a war to make democracy [capitalist or communist] safe for the world," the author insists that there will be no winner and that war does not pay. Very well; but no beautifully-worded "World Constitution" (found complete in the appendix to the book) is going to change the minds of Malenkov, Khrushchev and Zhukov, any more than did our concessions at Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom and Berlin.

Foundations of the World Republic should serve, however, to shake the lethargy of those responsible for the present policy of "drift"—a policy identical to that pursued by the French behind their Maginot line from Munich to Blitzkrieg in the West. For there is a fourth alternative to appeasement, containment and Borgese's dreamlike world government.

ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN
Marquette University

CHRISTIAN REALISM AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS.—By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's, New York, 1953, ix, 203 pp. \$3.00.

This volume of essays is important because it seeks "to establish the relevance of the Christian faith to contemporary problems, particularly ethical and political." (p. 1) Dr. Niebuhr reaffirms the essentiality of Christian presuppositions as the foundation of democratic society.

Christian realism leads the author to the conclusion that a divided world community cannot be politically integrated by simply establishing a world government through the fiat of the human will. The desirability of world order does not prove the attainability of world government. Government itself presupposes almost universal obedience to law. There must be a social tissue—fundamentally a moral tissue. These Christian principles are rejected by communism and socialism. On the other hand, these same principles combined with secularism to give us our democracy.

Dr. Niebuhr's writings are well known.

Students not of his religious belief frequently find his books interesting and thought provoking. The last essays of this volume, particularly "Augustine's Political Realism" and "Love and Law in Protestantism and Catholicism," raise some questions that should be discussed by Catholics, e.g., the nature of love and its relation to law. The concept of love in Catholicism, he declares, is too rationalistic and not sufficiently spontaneous.

The book should be of special interest to all students of political science and all engaged in resisting secularist attacks on democracy's fundamental principles.

VIRGIL C. BLUM, S.J.
The Creighton University

FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES.—By Hollis W. Barber. Dryden Press, New York, 1953, viii, 614 pp. \$5.25.

The announced theme of this textbook is that the United States with maturity has assumed grave responsibilities for its actions in international affairs and that the consequent obligations can best be met through cooperation with the United Nations.

The author's approach is broadly topical and geographical, with a survey of some of the fundamental concepts of American foreign and economic policies, the determining factors and agents in the formulation and execution of those policies and regional studies (cold war in Europe, doctrines and organizations of importance in the Western Hemisphere and relations with China and Japan). Almost a fourth of the book deals with the United Nations. In point of time, the emphasis is upon the twentieth century and, particularly, upon the period of World War II and thereafter. This last is a strength and a weakness.

Professor Barber gives a comprehensive and well-organized view of recent policies, but since the volume is suggested as suitable for initial survey courses, American foreign policy as historically developed is incomplete.

The author has commendably included a chapter on an often-neglected area, United States-Canadian relations. And it is good to read his concluding judgment

that "a consciousness of the importance of . . . Christian-democratic ideals and . . . a willingness to labor to advance those ideals" are every bit as important as physical power in finding a just and lasting peace.

MARTIN F. HASTING, S.J.
St. Louis University

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS: Representative Selections.—Edited by Dino Bigongiari. Hafner, New York, 1953, xxxviii, 217 pp. \$1.25 (paper), \$2.50 (cloth).

Writings of Aquinas illustrating his political ideas and a 30-page introduction by the editor presenting the ideas under a few important captions make up this work. They are taken from the *Summa* (I-II, 90-97 and part of 105; and II-II, 42, 57, 58, 66, 77, 78, 104) and *De Regimine* (seven chapters from Book One). An editor is restricted in his selections by the space allowed him, but this volume would be improved for undergraduate courses on political thought if the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and the commentaries on Aristotle's *Politics* and Lombard's *Sentences*, the other major sources of Aquinas' political ideas, were tapped. The editor seems aware of this, for in his introduction he uses ideas from these sources. The introduction is helpful in understanding Aquinas' doctrine on the state as a natural society, on the ruler, law and forms of government. But the last section will confuse, for the editor, though clearly stating the Thomistic doctrine of a distinct and autonomous temporal or civil order, seems to say that the civil power is a positive legal concession from the pope. I hope this point is clarified in the book on Aquinas' political philosophy the editor is writing.

WILLIAM L. LUCEY, S.J.
Holy Cross College

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN CONGRESS.—By George B. Galloway. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y., 1953, xii, 689 pp. \$6.00.

In this book the author "hoped to provide an up-to-date and comprehensive analysis of the process of lawmaking in Washington; he sought to share with fellow citizens and

the public generally what he has seen on Capitol Hill since 1941." Mr. George B. Galloway was chairman of the *Committee on Congress* of the American Political Science Association from 1941 to 1945 and staff director of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress during 1945-1946. Since 1946 he has been Senior Specialist in American Government on the staff of the Legislative Reference Service in the Library of Congress.

He has presented his descriptions and analyses under three main headings: The Powers and Functions of Congress—Participants in the Legislative Process—Congressional Procedures. Two especially interesting discussions are those of the modern phenomenon called the "headless fourth branch of government" (the administrative agencies), and of the "Third House" (the lobbyists).

The book achieves the author's purpose of being suitable for "the public generally." It is not overtechnical, it refers only to the major issues and major authorities, and it usually fills in the historical background needed by the nonspecialist.

The reviewer's field is economics. He read this book because he agrees with Charles Beard's revised position that although economics may be the basis of politics, politics is the major influence in economics. To understand developments in modern economic society it is necessary to keep abreast of developments in the governmental process. This book, among its other uses, serves that purpose nicely.

JOSEPH M. BECKER, S.J.
St. Louis University

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.—By A. R. M. Murray. Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, 236 pp. \$4.75.

Although twelve of these fifteen chapters trace political theory from the Stoics to Karl Marx, it would be wrong to describe the book as a sketchy survey of the history of political thought. The survey is made, but the author's chief purpose is to show that every theory is basically either some form of empiricism or some form of rationalism and that each attaches a different meaning to "philosophy" and "science." Political philosophy is thus presented as a

study floundering in indecision, caught between the desire for truth and the worship of experience.

In treating Plato, Machiavelli, Locke, *et al.*, Dr. Murray is not content with a mere summary of their theories. He critically analyses and evaluates them. These critiques give the book its peculiar interest. In criticizing the rationalists the author resorts to the arguments of the empiricists and in criticizing the latter he takes his cue from the former. His own personal views are deliberately hidden, but occasionally they show through with a tinge of empiricism.

The book as a whole is pleasantly concise, translucently clear and truculently provocative. It is profitable and enjoyable reading.

PAUL WOELFL, S.J.
Loyola, Chicago

BEYOND CONTAINMENT.—By William Henry Chamberlain. Regnery, Chicago, 1953, vi, 406 pp. \$5.00.

In this book, Mr. Chamberlain, an authority on the Soviet Union, studies U. S. relations with the Soviet Union since the war. His thesis is that though containment is a great improvement over the honeymoon illusions of appeasement, it has not been and cannot be the final effective policy on which the growing world cleavage into slave and free can be checked and set right. I regret the unfortunate tone of partisan polemics in his discussions. He uses this clever turn of phrase, "There is profound historical irony in the fact that America's security, perhaps its survival as an independent world power, depends on its ability to escape from the consequences of its complete military victory in the war. . . . Never in history has a great war been fought for such illusory and deceptive ends," but I wonder if the turn is not away from strict objectivity. Can the war-crimes trials be dismissed summarily as, "a colossal blunder, morally, legally and politically"? Many, too, while admitting some need for revision in the organization of the United Nations, will consider intemperate the solution suggested: "The U. N. Charter should be written off as another fruit of victory gone sour."

Apart from this exaggerated note of

political partisanship, the book has great merit as a survey of Soviet postwar expansion. Mr. Chamberlain is realistic about communism, and he has no doubts about its ultimate aim of world domination. No peaceful cohabitation with the Soviet Union is possible; containment is a vain wish. The first step beyond containment is "liberation." The author briefly reviews some liberation movements in progress, roughly describable as phases of psychological warfare, aimed to drive a wedge between the communist ruling class and the Soviet masses.

Perhaps the most valuable chapter is "The Cold War—a Balance Sheet," a sober evaluation of the strength and weakness of the chief protagonists. The author frankly admits the elements of strength that flow from the very nature of a system that brooks no opposition, as well as the drain on efficiency, necessarily implied in the full guarantee of individual rights and liberties, sacred to the western world.

MAURICE F. MEYERS, S.J.
Russian Center
Fordham University

RED STAR OVER JAPAN.—By Richard L. G. Deverall. Richard L. G. Deverall, 40 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn 15, N. Y., 1952, xix, 352 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Sanzo Nozaka is a dapper, middle-aged Japanese, who affects flawless tailoring and a pearl stick-pin in his carefully tied cravat. Except for his Oriental cast, you might mistake him for a Parisian boulevardier or a Rotten Row dandy.

The mistake, while easily made, would be a bad boner. For Nozaka-san is no well-bred idler. He is a busy, professional revolutionary who plies his trade at the top-level of command.

Born in Kobe, the port of Osaka, Japan's Chicago, he studied at Keio University, one of Tokyo's Ivy League colleges. He took his professional training, however, in Moscow and post-graduate work with Mao Tse-tung, the Stalin of China. Sanzo and Mao were comrades in the caves of Yenan, before Mao's Red armies swept China. Nozaka, chief of the Japanese communist party, plays the main role in *Red Star Over Japan*. The author, a veteran of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists,

was Chief of Labor Education on the MacArthur Occupation Staff for two years. His book is a worm's-eye account of the communist blitz that Nozaka led against the post-war Japanese trade unions. His success in that campaign gave him and his lieutenants command of a powerful labor army that nearly captured Japan from under the nose of its Allied Occupation.

Mr. Deverall's book is hastily written and in details is inaccurate more than once. His strictures on MacArthur, for example, ignore the fact that even this five-star commander conducted his occupation within the framework of Allied policy directives. However, his aim is accurate, even if he uses scattershot. Thus, his book gives an inside account of the well-led communist conspiracy that many better known books on post-war Japan ignore or play down.

JOHN COSTELLO
St. Louis

ASIA AND THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.—By Richard L. G. Deverall. International, Tokyo, 1952, 243 pp. \$2.50.

The title of this book would lead one to suspect that the author intended to talk about two things, Asia and the democratic revolution. He does, here and there, among unassorted items and ideas, which he has not taken the time to arrange logically.

Beginning with a general history of the growth of democracy in the West, the author paints a vivid picture of Western colonialism in Asia. This colonialism resulted in a desire for independence among the Asians, and Russia capitalized on this urge to spread communism throughout the continent. The author next spends twelve pages on what he considers the "democratic revolution" before launching into a hopelessly illogical description of the philosophy of communism and socialism.

How Asia is to achieve this "democratic revolution;" how a country like Japan or India is to work out a system so alien to its culture, these and many other like questions are left unanswered.

JOHN J. NISSEL, S.J.
Woodstock College

POLICE-STATE METHODS IN THE SOVIET UNION.—Beacon, Boston, 1953, 64 pp. \$1.50.

COERCION OF THE WORKER IN THE SOVIET UNION. Beacon, Boston, 1953, 63 pp. \$1.50.

Both prepared by the International Commission against Concentrationist Regimes under the direction of David Rousset. Translated by Charles R. Joy. Edited by Jerry G. Gliksmann.

In his introduction to one of the best descriptions of life in the USSR, Suzanne Labin's *Stalin's Russia*, Arthur Koestler, wrote: "A former comrade of my communist days asked me recently with an ironic smile what would be done to members of the communist party if I had my say. I told him that I would condemn them all to one year of forced reading. The sentence would start with a course in Russian to enable the offender to read Russian newspapers and listen to the Soviet radio. . . . It is my conviction, based on experience at the *locus in quo*, that before the year was over, this enforced exposure of and to Soviet reality would act as a complete cure."

Readers of *SOCIAL ORDER* certainly do not need such drastic therapy as that recommended by Koestler. Neither can they spare the time required to master the difficult Russian language. On the other hand, they can profit greatly by paging through these two short works by David Rousset and his collaborators. The translations from the original Soviet documents speak for themselves. These two brief books are likely to appeal to college students who would be scared away from longer studies.

WILLIAM A. NOLAN
Institute of Social Order

THE TERROR MACHINE.—By Gregory Klimov. Praeger, New York, 1953, 400 pp. \$4.00.

These accounts by Gregory Klimov come straight from the Russian mind—a mind no longer influenced by Moscow's orders. As an honest, clear-thinking individual, the author interprets the Soviet military for us. The colorful and yet depressing human interest story of his own life gives the reader a feeling of being in the author's

place as he himself is puzzled with what he was taught to believe. His own reasoning, his observations of Russia and Germany give us a picture of what these countries mean to the intelligent Russian military man. The tremendous, nerve-racking tensions in the atmosphere of the entire Soviet regime are here crystalized in his own life.

Being a Berliner I must say that the author gives a truthful picture of Soviet dealings in Germany today as far as I was able to observe them. Anyone who is interested in what really goes on behind the Iron Curtain—on the red side—should read this honest book.

KNUT HEISE
St. Louis University

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND COMMUNIST FAITH.—Edited by D. M. Mackinnon. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1953, 236 pp. \$4.50.

Along with Father Danielou's *Essai sur le Mystère de l'histoire* and Russell Kirk's *Conservative Mind* this arresting series of essays serves as a tocsin of the perils of veering from Christian tradition. It is significant that 1953 should witness three such philosophical studies from the West's great fonts of ideas, France, Great Britain and the U. S.

In a prefatory note Professor Mackinnon stresses the scope of his work: "a series of essays by members of the Anglican Communion on the issues raised by Communism." (p. v) Although Arnold Toynbee has written only the chapter on the *Christian Understanding of History*, the impact of his thesis on communist "faith" has obviously influenced the contributions of Larmour and Jarrett-Kerr. Professor Mackinnon is to be commended for his judicious development of Christian faith founded in absolute truth and communist "faith" founded in propaganda.

The Catholic reader who is familiar with Father Danielou's *Essai* will profit from reading Professor Hodge's penetrating analysis of the development of Marxian thought. On the issue of Marx, at least, both arrive at substantially identical conclusions.

In his résumé, Professor Mackinnon states, "Marxism is admittedly a special

sort of metaphysics; one that is perhaps almost developed more in action than in argument, or rather in argument only in so far as it partakes of the character of action." (p. 229) To this reviewer the predicamental "metaphysics" herein implied must of its very nature involve a contradiction.

This is a thought-provoking little volume, and if we as Christians cannot entirely agree on what our positive concept of Christian history is, we quite definitely agree on what it is not. In the exposition of the latter are the chief merits of this study.

JOHN CARROLL, S.J.
Weston College

THE AGE OF SUSPICION.—By James A. Wechsler. Random House, New York, 1953, 333 pp. \$3.75.

The occasion for this book was Mr. Wechsler's appearance before the McCarthy Committee in 1952. The high-handed and unfair treatment to which the author was there subjected was ostensibly justified by Wechsler's YCP activities in the 1930's, before he had once and for all severed connections with the communist party.

Actually, only a minor part of this book is devoted to the author's McCarthy Committee appearance. The larger and by far the more interesting part of the book is the author's political autobiography.

The youthful editor of the *New York Post* throws light upon those confused days of the Depression era when many young American intellectuals were tossed to and from the communist party in sincere though often tragic, attempts to find stability in a period of economic and social upheaval. The tragedy of those days is well exemplified by Wechsler's history.

The author writes with the facile ease of the adept journalist long skilled at achieving suspense and sustained interest. If, turning to intellectual content, one were to deplore the fact that Mr. Wechsler has not discovered a better-defined channel for his social ideals since his break with communism, one can perhaps blame more justly those anti-communists of another decade, who, like those in our own, had neither acquired the insight to recognize

the poverty of their own social philosophy nor possessed the charity to accept at face-value the sincerity of another man's conversion. Equally true is the fact that the sense of outrage at social evils and the ideals that drove the younger Wechsler to embrace communism survive in the more mature man, now dedicated to resist those same social wrongs in the context of an American democratic society.

S. OLEY CUTLER, S.J.
Woodstock College

THE ULTIMATE WEAPON.—By Oleg Anisimov. Henry Regnery, Chicago, vii, 163 pp. \$3.50.

Anisimov's ultimate weapon is not likely to be adopted by most of the western democracies, not because it would not prove an effective means towards liberating the victims of Soviet tyranny, but because its forthright position is too bold for such as rely upon the flabby substitutes of containment and neutralism. What this author desires is nothing less than a positive, courageous and well-organized counter-Cominform. In other words, he recommends utilization of the very same tactics by which Soviet agents are striving to undermine democratic institutions. In his conclusion, Anisimov outlines specific procedures for this effective counter-Cominform.

His book also contains illuminating analysis of the mind of the Russian people and of how the western world can exploit both its strength and its weaknesses.

The fact that he is now employed by the U. S. Department of State indicates a slowly awakening realization that containment makes effective psychological warfare impossible. Like Burnham's book, Anisimov's is also short and easy to read.

WILLIAM A. NOLAN
St. Louis

THE IRON CURTAIN AND AMERICAN POLICY.—By Kurt Glaser. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1953, 36 pp. \$1.00.

Drawing on his experience with the Military Government in Germany and his present position with the Governmental Affairs Institute, Kurt Glaser takes the stand

that the lack of clearly defined war aims on the part of the United States enabled Russia to seize the balance of power in both Europe and Asia. To liberate the Iron Curtain countries he advocates constructive cooperation in forming a Central European Federation, not along the lines of narrow nationalism, but according to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter.

ROBERT E. BECKMAN, S.J.
West Baden College

REVIEW AND REFLECTION.—By Cyrus S. Ching. *Forbes*, New York, 1953, 204 pp. \$3.95.

Drawn from fifty years' experience, Mr. Ching's work will appeal to both students of labor relations and all interested in those aspects of American society. In an easy and friendly style, the author highlights the factors responsible for the growth of unions, collective bargaining, government agencies and industrial legislation over the past half-century.

Those more familiar with this history find little that is new in this section. However, the second half of the book provides several sharp challenges. Mr. Ching's years of service as Federal Mediator have prompted him seriously to question the feasibility of such economic measures as price and wage controls, private pension plans, declarations of national emergencies and industry-wide bargaining.

Throughout the book Mr. Ching's personality shines forth as a unifying theme. In the closing chapter, "What's Ahead?", the reader will be acquainted with some realistic guides for the future success of American labor relations.

THOMAS J. BAIN, S.J.
West Baden College

ATTEMPTS AT GENERAL UNION.—By G. D. H. Cole. *St. Martin's Press*, New York, 1953, 210 pp. \$3.50.

Standard histories of British trade unionism have been written by the Webbs and the Hammonds; this book corrects and supplements them for the period 1818-1834. It chronicles union attempts at national consolidation of all trades, detailing the movement's dramatic defeat in 1833-1834.

The study is historical and scientific, withal readable. New light is thrown on the parts played by John Doherty and Robert Owen, on union strength and weakness in Lancashire and Yorkshire, on the Derby "turn-outs" and the Tolpuddle martyrs. Professor Cole on Owen: "His connection with the union uprising was an accident. He was by nature neither a union organizer nor a revolutionary leader, but a prophet."

The final appraisal: "That the working classes achieved what they did, and not that they were beaten, is remarkable; and it is also noteworthy that they were so speedily able to re-form their forces into the beginnings of a more durable organization for the defense of their interests."

Professor Cole speaks to a limited audience but precisely and with authority.

WILLIAM E. McDONOUGH, S.J.
Woodstock College

THE MUSICIANS AND PETRILLO.—By Robert D. Leiter. *Bookman Associates, Inc.*, New York, 1953, 202 pp. \$3.75.

This slender volume is a balanced, highly-readable study of personalities in and out of the American Federation of Musicians-AFL including its controversial president. It is also a case history of the growth of union power as an economic force and the AFM struggle against technological change.

Petrillo's efforts to solve the musicians' unemployment problem have been chronicled in the nation's press since he assumed the presidency in 1940. His sometimes extreme methods have occasionally aroused public indignation and this, coupled with poor public relations, has cast him in the "ruthless labor baron" role. But even Westbrook Pegler has said, "Petrillo . . . is, to my almost certain knowledge and to my strong conviction, not a crook." Petrillo's activities influenced the passage of the Lea Act in 1946, the forerunner of Taft-Hartley and the first significant curb imposed on the activities and power of labor unions subsequent to New Deal policy. While union democracy in the AFM generally is neither better nor worse than the average union it is discouraging to read of the segregation of Negroes in some of AFM's northern locals at this late date.

Copiously annotated with a full bibliography, Dr. Leiter's effort is a model work of its kind.

PETER T. FARRELLY, S.J.
Weston College

EUROPEAN IMPRESSIONS OF THE AMERICAN WORKER.—By Robert W. Smuts. Columbia University Press, New York, 1953, ix, 62 pp. \$1.50.

This monograph compares present-day European impressions of the American worker with those of fifty years ago and finds the foreign observer still much impressed with labor's role in the maintenance of high productivity. Factors considered most important in this connection are: anticipation of constantly higher wages and living standards, energy and enthusiasm on the job, acceptance of change, cooperation with management and confidence in the benefits of technology. The growth of union power, it is felt, has fostered these attitudes and corrected abuses and defects noted in 1890. These observations, while helping us to see the American worker in better perspective, are valuable also for the indirect light which they shed on the worker abroad.

ROBERT H. NEUBECK, S.J.
Woodstock College

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF BAKUNIN: Scientific Anarchism.—Compiled and edited by G. P. Maximoff, *Biographical Sketch* by Max Nettlau. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1953, 434 pp. \$6.00.

Excellent translated and arranged, these selections from the major works of Bakunin will interest all political scientists as the most comprehensive treatment of Scientific Anarchism available in English.

In general, the selections are grouped around Bakunin's fundamental (Hegelian) premise: Every development implies the negation of its point of departure. This means that all systems of idealism begin with the ideal and terminate in materialization and exploitation by church and state. Materialism begins with the concrete and ends in the purification and humanization of whatever it touches. (The philosophical and theological arguments which refute

these false presuppositions leave unsolved the economic and social problems which form Bakunin's empirical basis.)

The most valuable sections are the recurrent attacks upon the sacred cow, science, and the critique of Marxism. This latter is almost prophetic: "They [the Marxists] are enemies of the powers-that-be only because they cannot take their places. . . . If the proletariat is to be the ruling class . . . there will remain another proletariat which will be subjected to this new domination, this new State." (pp. 284-86) However, it is worthy of note that Lenin (and the Stalinists) side with Bakunin against Marx and Engels on the role of the peasant in revolutionary activity.

A major defect implicit in the method of presentation chosen is that the arrangement of the selections makes it difficult to follow the chronological development of Bakunin's thought. These selections, permeated as they are with atheist humanism, will have only historical interest to scholars.

FRANCIS CONKLIN, S.J.
Alma College

PETER E. DIETZ, LABOR PRIEST.—By Mary Harrita Fox. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1953, xiv, 285 pp. \$4.75.

Sister Mary Harrita has brought to public attention a career which draws rich significance from the most pressing problems of our times.

By his early and clear recognition of the union's pivotal position in future society, Father Dietz demonstrated extraordinary acumen. If the Catholic worker in this country may normally enjoy the considerable advantages of effective unionism without any sacrifice of his religious principles, the fact must be credited in great measure to the influence within the movement of a few farseeing and courageous priests. Father Dietz was the earliest of these, and got in, as it were, on the ground floor of modern labor organization.

Concrete programs like Catholic industrial conferences, a labor newsletter for the Catholic press, the Militia of Christ (which foreshadowed the ACTU), a school for Catholic social workers and a labor college represent only a part of Father Dietz's

prodigious activity. Through his constant contact with labor leaders and his championing of their real interests, he achieved his widest influence and made his most important contribution.

As with many men of vision and imagination, Father Dietz suffered from the defects of his qualities. He had little understanding of the compromises necessary for working with others. He was irritable, individualistic and inclined to be overtenacious of his views. Yet of his orthodoxy and his essential loyalty to an ecclesiastical authority which was not always sympathetic with him, there seems to be no question.

The author has dealt effectively with a significant and timely subject. Students of American Catholic society are in her debt.

SISTER JOAN, S.N.D.
Trinity College

TURRIALBA: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change. — Edited by Charles P. Loomis. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1953, x, 288 pp. \$3.50.

This book reports a research project "characterized by the integration of family-farm villages into the larger trade-center community centered around the town of Turrialba, Costa Rica." (p. 1) The research was conducted with a dual purpose: to investigate problems facing administrators establishing or strengthening agencies for the improvement of agricultural methods and to make the research pertinent for the individual attempting to introduce changes into a social system.

The authors have achieved their purpose admirably. A careful reading of the book will repay anyone in the specialized classification indicated by the book's purpose; in addition, the book could be read with profit by a student of sociology as an *ad hoc* application of general sociological principles or as an example of what "area research" is all about. A glance at some of the topics covered show the breadth of the research: social status, communication, informal social systems as well as formal with their ecological basis; economic systems and levels of living; religious, educational and political systems—all from the point of view of possible change. The methodological techniques

used by the authors are simple and adequate; shortcomings and limitations are stated. Of particular interest, perhaps, are the sociometric techniques used to determine the individual prestige and general groupings within the informal community organization.

The unasked question that a reader has to phrase for himself is of primary importance to the general assumption that underlies the whole work. It is this: granted that we want change in any given social system, just what do we want to change to? The obvious answers are all minor ones. But just as practical social science has made valuable contributions—like this book—to social techniques, so the social scientist must make a contribution on a more theoretical level. Only then will his science become humanly meaningful.

ROBERT J. McNAMARA, S.J.
Woodstock College

INNOVATION: The Basis of Cultural Change.—By H. G. Barnett. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1953, xi, 462 pp. \$6.50.

Once anthropologists contented themselves with descriptions of the customs of out-of-the-way cultures, and the more conservative and static the better. Today, having added civilizations (including the American) to their study and having learned much from psychology and sociology (not without reciprocity) anthropology has begun to produce studies worthy of the adjectives "dynamic" and "theoretical." One of the most significant studies is *Innovation*, by an anthropologist who is himself an innovator.

Innovation is described as "any thought, behavior or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms;" quite properly reorganization, rather than quantitative variation, is stressed. This study of innovation has four parts. 1. "The Setting" gives a broad survey of cultures 'round the world (emphasizing the fact that innovation is found everywhere) and an analysis of the cultural background of innovation. 2. "The Incentives to Innovation" dissects the variety of needs and desires which lead to innovation. 3. "Innovative Processes" discusses the mechanics of innovation. 4. "Acceptance and Rejection" ends with an

illuminating description of "the dissident," "the indifferent," "the disaffected," and "the resentful," in terms of their reactions to acceptance of an innovation.

This is a packed book, and even the too-solid pages give the impression of plentiful material about to burst seams. Unfortunately, there is no synthetic approach, and we are left somewhat overwhelmed with the complexity of detail. Perhaps the synthesis will come later. Perhaps also, the author will proceed from the multiplicity of factors that influence the individual innovator to the patterns of cultural innovation. The personality effects of achieved innovation also need study and integration.

However, only so much can be done in one book. Barnett has done this: he has made a book on innovation which should be read by every social scientist, especially those who study cultural change and by all those who guide or would cause cultural change.

J. FRANKLIN EWING, S.J.
Fordham University

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.—By Dietrich von Hildebrand. David McKay, New York, 1953, xxxvi, 470 pp. \$6.00.

Dr. von Hildebrand begins his quest of a Christian ethics firmly convinced that it can be found in an analysis of experience. He would have the reader hold in abeyance all philosophical and ethical theories and systems and merely analyze data. Such an approach will safeguard the reader against any tendency to sacrifice reality to theory or any temptation to squeeze reality into a system.

Reflecting on will and affective responses, he discovers that they are centered around the "important." Unless an object has importance, the will does not respond. We are neither happy nor sad about the fact that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles. But we are very pleased by a compliment. It is the importance of the one in reference to the other that makes the difference.

Experience shows that there are three kinds of importance. There is the merely subjectively satisfying, such as the compliment; the objective good for the person, to which gratitude is the response; the im-

portant in itself, such as an act of forgiveness. The important in itself, he calls a value. There are both ontological and qualitative values. The dignity of the human person is an ontological value, justice a qualitative value. Moral values are obviously qualitative values; with these he is chiefly concerned.

The moral act must be a value response to a morally relevant good, based on an awareness of the moral significance of the situation and arising from a general will to be morally good. Having arrived at this concept of the moral act, he makes a study of the three spheres of morality, actions, responses and virtues. He concludes with a study of the centers of morality; the reverent, humble, loving center from which spring morally good acts; and pride and concupiscence from which springs immorality.

Christian Ethics contains some fine psychological insights into moral and ethical conduct not found in modern treatises on ethics. There is, for instance, an excellent treatment of virtue as distinct from habit and disposition. The author has also emphasized affective responses, an aspect of morality frequently omitted in modern works on ethics.

But the reader with a scholastic background may find the book difficult to follow. Dr. von Hildebrand has been almost too successful in his effort to depart from the traditional approach. Even the terminology is new. For this reason the book may enjoy greater popularity among those who are less familiar with scholasticism.

JOHN R. CONNERY, S.J.
West Baden College, Indiana

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATORS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.—By Joseph McGlade, S.S.C. Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1953, 164 pp. \$3.25.

Fr. McGlade has joined the increasing number of educators attacking the chaotic conditions which progressivism has brought to American education. His work differs from Bestor's *Educational Wastelands* and Hutchin's *The Conflict in Education* in that it is limited in scope. Fr. McGlade does not lash out at progressivism. He is content to demonstrate by particular example what Anthony Standen has already proved

in general: devotees of the scientific method are anything but scientific.

Himself employing the scientific method, Fr. McGlade analyzes representative efforts of the "living leaders of progressive educational philosophy"—Kilpatrick, Bode, Childs, Hook, Kallen, Brameld—and finds that when dealing with the Catholic Church progressive philosophers violate the rules of scientific research in three ways: they make fallacious generalizations; they omit vitally important material; they arrive at their conclusions before beginning their research. It is by these means that the Catholic Church is condemned as authoritarian and good Catholics thought incapable of being good Americans.

Some of the material in this book has been presented more ably by other Catholic educators. Much of it has not. Fr. McGlade presents what is perhaps the first extended treatment by a Catholic of the reconstructionism of Theodore Brameld and the social writings of Sidney Hook. If for no other reason than its recency, this book is of some significance in the field of Catholic education.

ANTHONY C. RICCO
Rockhurst College

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ABERRATIONS.—

Edited by Edward Podolsky, M.D. Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, viii, 550 pp. \$10.00.

This work offers a novel approach to the ever-widening field of psychopathology. In an alphabetical order we find, at times, a brief definition of unfamiliar terms, in other instances short articles presenting summaries of various psychiatric subjects, or original articles elaborating on certain psychiatric concepts.

The terms treated run from Abasia to Zoosadism, the majority being defined in four to eight lines. These simple definitions of the Greek compounds used in psychiatric parlance are clear and helpful. Being free of theoretical implications they will be acceptable to all. The longer articles, and these take up by far the most space in this large volume, are based on the Freudian school of psychoanalysis; in fact, they are papers recruited from journals of this school.

The over-frequent recurrence of Oedipus

and Electra complexes and the other theoretical constructs of Freud weave through the book more like a heavy rope than a thread. It is unfortunate that the editor allows only articles that lean ponderously on Freud's sexual interpretations for all neuroses. Not only will this narrowness of orientation make the book unacceptable and impractical for many, it is this reviewer's opinion that it will also do much to shorten its life expectancy. Orthodox Freudian interpretations are not as popular as they used to be, and many think, with good reason, that they will be soon passé.

The idea of this book is excellent. A quick reference work in this field is an absolute necessity. Some of the articles are the best that could be found on the subject; but on the whole the book is not recommended. To the person not trained in psychology this book will give the dangerous misconception that the Freudian explanations of these aberrations are scientific facts. To those trained in psychology the book will be only slightly helpful; for if he be a Freudian, he knows it all already; if not, he will find it hard to take.

JOHN R. MCCALL, S.J.
Weston College

THE RETURN TO REASON: Essays in Realistic Philosophy.— Edited by John Wild. Regnery, Chicago, 1953, 373 pp. \$7.50.

"Theory without practice is sterile; practice without theory is blind." Probably the latter portion of this dictum of Lenin applies more than the former on our side of the Iron Curtain. This book of essays is not only a valuable exploration of the relationship between theory and practice in the context of modern social and political problems. It also is a technically competent presentation of the evidence which establishes basic philosophical theory.

Edited by John Wild of Harvard, these fourteen essays are written by American philosophers interested in the aims of a five-year-old organization, the Association for Realistic Philosophy, whose platform appears in an appendix of the book. Functioning more as a formula for keeping a sharp focus on evidence rather than as a fence to hinder the movement of thought, the Association's statement of purpose and

method outlines the task and its conditions and gives to the resulting symposium a surprising unity of impact.

This book could be titled "A Return of Reason" in modern thought. Part one pounds out the metaphysical foundation which must be discovered and utilized if there is to be consistent rational action in the practical fields such as aesthetics, social order, moral choice, political science and education which are subjects of detailed study in the second part of the work. "Verbosophy" is exposed for what it is, and the absurdity of "paralytic methodology" is clearly indicated.

Two concluding essays, "A Realistic Theory of Forgiveness," by J. Arthur Martin, Wheaton College, and "Natural Law and the Problem of Asia" by Charles Malik, Minister of Lebanon, bring the series to a culmination which summarizes theory and indicates areas of practical action. The cultural and social implications of the basic concepts of this realistic philosophy are in their way proof of the empirical value of the philosophical principles involved. The contemporary scene yields its own evidence for the philosopher.

This return to reason is not a return to rationalism. It is a presentation of evidence. It includes both the commitments and the presuppositions of the non-realist tradition in an analysis of both history and contemporary insights that saves empiricism from itself. This joint endeavor can be called a return because the core of Western philosophy from the Greeks down to the end of the Middle Ages is committed to reason in philosophy against "subjectivistic, irrational and relativistic modes of thought" whose current practical failures in empirical soundness and cultural integrity are due radically to an original flight from reason and the real.

Of set purpose, these philosophers are engaged in a return to "basic concepts and principles [which] are derived from observation and analysis of the immediately given data of experience." They refuse to accept any a priori limitations of data to the restricted selection of materialist or idealist. They examine and present the data of observation and experience which are as real, as empirically ascertainable, but more basic and at a deeper level than limited quantitative phenomena. They give

empirical answers to the three basic questions "which cannot be evaded without serious damage to the whole intellectual enterprise." To these questions, "What is man? What is knowledge? What ought we to do?" *The Return to Reason* is a very useful and highly significant answer.

JOHN E. GURR, S.J.
St. Louis University

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS: A REEVALUATION.—By Morris Ginsberg. Beacon, Boston, 1953, 82 pp. \$1.75.

One of the merits of Ginsberg's brief essay is that it is readable. In addition, it provides the hurried reader with a concise, documented survey of what has happened to the idea of progress. In his concluding chapter, Ginsberg finds this over-optimistic idea of progress based upon modern science and human knowledge defunct.

On the other hand, the author's own solution returns to an ineffectual plea to seek the improvement of human society through merely rational ethics. Having rejected the concept of original sin as being illiberal and having expressed no confidence in the power of Christianity or any other contemporary religion to effect a rejuvenation of our troubled world, Ginsberg resorts to the convention of a golden rule supported only by well-bred reason. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find him unable to detect a clear distinction between the communist and the "bourgeois" conception of the human person. Or, again, when he expresses hopefulness that the Chinese communist marriage law of 1950 may well bring great social progress to the peoples of the East. Such conclusions furnish us with another proof that the "good pagan" has no firm code of ethics.

WILLIAM A. NOLAN
Institute of Social Order

NATURAL RIGHT AND HISTORY.—By Leo Strauss. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1953, x, 327 pp. \$5.00.

This book is an expanded version of the six Walgreen Foundation lectures delivered in 1949. Described by Jerome Kerwin as "a critique of certain modern political theories and an able presentation of

basic principles of the traditionalist point of view," the lectures are a study in the origin and development of natural law and a defense against modern critics.

The first two are in many ways the most important. They are an able argument against the historicists' denial of any objective natural law and against its denial by Max Weber on the basis of his fact-value dichotomy. The other four lectures deal with the origin and development of the traditional theory of natural right, with its modernization in Hobbes and Locke, and its crisis in Rousseau and Burke.

Professor Strauss presents a scholarly, well-balanced vindication of natural right by exposing the false premises and inconsistent reasoning of those who have denied its objective existence. The book is not easy reading by the very nature of the subject, and unfortunately the author's turgid style and repetitious argument make it even more difficult. Students of intellectual history and of contemporary socio-ethical problems, however, will find this a book they cannot ignore.

THOMAS P. NEILL
St. Louis University

LET'S TALK SENSE ABOUT OUR SCHOOLS.—By Paul Woodring. McGraw-Hill, 1953, ix, 215 pp. \$3.50.

Woodring contends that, despite much present-day controversy about the public school system, there are no real conflicts of interests between teachers and parents. That which appears as conflict is but confusion which precedes decision. Thus Woodring follows Whitehead in claiming that "a clash of doctrines is not a disaster—it is an opportunity for greater ideas." Thus, this is not a book of answers but a book "for those who seek their own answers."

Woodring proposes two facts about which the more honest and better-informed critics are complaining: 1. The public schools in a democracy belong—or ought to belong—to the people, but professional educators have progressively pre-empted responsibility for policy-making. 2. The philosophy which underlies the "new education" is unacceptable to a large number of Americans.

His analysis of John Dewey's influence

on our schools is objective. He declines to deify Dewey and shows how misinterpretation of Dewey's philosophy has confused thinking in educational circles. He concludes that progressive education is not an ideal system. Rather, American education evolves not toward progressive education but past it.

The author does not avoid other controversial issues, such as: academic freedom and legislative investigations, the curricula of teachers' colleges and methods of teaching, educational "fundamentals," teachers' workshops, pay and security. Provocative, cogent and calmly reasoned, this book is useful for all students of education.

F. JAMES WETZEL, S.J.
West Baden College

IDEAS AND WEAPONS.—By I. B. Holley, Jr. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1953, 222 pp. \$3.75.

Mr. Holley, historian and military analyst, studies our lack of coherent air warfare policy around World War I. He shows that egregious errors resulted from three failings. We neglected to see that we needed superior *kinds* of weapons more than a greater number, that we required a consistent theory of weapons and that an adequate organization for implementing this doctrine was necessary.

This obvious lesson from the faults of our military thinking of the first war should be that an atomic-age nation must efficiently organize a powerful policy-making body to exploit superior weapons.

The value of this study is enhanced by thorough documentation from authoritative sources. History is a good teacher, and this searching book should warn us that we must plan our atomic potential with intelligence.

BERNARD SCULLY, S.J.
Weston College

HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.—By Philip G. Fothergill. Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, xvii, 427 pp. \$6.00.

This book gives a scholarly history of the idea of evolution. In the first section the beginnings and formulation of the evolutionary theory are treated chronologically.

In the second section the modern causal theories of evolution are given in detail.

Although the survey of the beginnings of evolutionary theory is good, his treatment of the causal mechanisms does not portray the current idea of this aspect accurately. Contrary to the author's statement that Lamarck's theory still holds sway, in biological circles it is without support today. More recent Neo-Lamarckism collapses for the same reason: lack of evidence. Despite the teleological plausibility of this theory, apparently more attractive to the author than the mechanistic natural selection of Darwin, the theory itself is no more acceptable. A welcome distinction between evolution and Darwinism is carefully made. However, the author seems to confuse Darwin's postulate that new species arise as a result of the accumulation of small variations with the modern theory of the gene and point mutations as proposed by Dobzhansky and other geneticists. This may explain the overemphasized presentation of Goldschmidt's ideas, which are not shared by the majority of geneticists.

Thus the treatment of the modern theories of the causal mechanism of evolution appears to be incomplete and merits this somewhat severe criticism.

GEORGE F. LAWLOR, S.J.
Boston College

THE COOPERATIVE ROAD TO ABUNDANCE.—By E. R. Bowen. Schuman, New York, 1953, xiii, 169 pp. \$3.00.

Those who know E. R. Bowen, former executive secretary of the Cooperative League, will recognize in this work not only a scientific analysis of cooperative theory but a résumé of the author's own convictions covering a period of 25 years. Bowen employs a skillful framework of reference and by balancing methods and applying motives on the "road to abundance," he views cooperation in its relation to communism and monopolism. The treatment reminds one of a somewhat similar study of fascism, communism and democracy by Timasheff in *The Three Worlds*.

The crisp logic and appeal of Bowen's arguments, the force of his citations, his effort to avoid extreme positions, make

his case for cooperation convincing. False beliefs used to support slavery are placed side by side with false notions to justify competition. Leo XIII, Bishop von Ketteler, John A. Ryan, Dr. M. M. Coady, Virgil Michel are among the many authorities quoted. Americans are invited to extend their principles of liberty, equality and fraternity already found in social and political institutions to economic institutions. A "right use" of competition is advocated and summed up as "striving for the general welfare as the welfare of each individual." For one whose understanding of cooperatives is confined largely to the operational level this compact analysis of cooperation in its more universal implications for society as a whole will prove both enlightening and thought-provoking.

SISTER MIRIAM THERESE, S.N.D.
Trinity College

FACING THE FUTURE'S RISKS.—Edited by Lyman Bryson. Harper, New York, 1953, viii, 318 pp. \$4.00.

The mutual insurance companies of America held a conference in 1952, on the two-hundredth anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's founding America's first mutual insurance company. The thirteen papers in this book are the written versions of the lectures delivered at the conference. They deal with such subjects as biology, psychology, American women and American values, two centuries of political change and risk and insurance. The papers follow a common pattern of sketching large lines of past development and making a prognosis of the future expectations in each field studied. They serve as handy and fairly reliable brief surveys of the various subjects, but in no case is the study intended for the specialist in the field.

FATHER TOMPKINS OF NOVA SCOTIA.—By George Boyle. Kenedy, New York, 1953, 234 pp. \$3.00.

To apostles of progress, especially in education, this life of Father Tompkins of Nova Scotia should prove most enlightening. Father Tompkins was first and foremost an educator—for twenty years a teacher and college professor. During those twenty years he did no parish work, practically speaking, had only an intellectual

contact with the social organizing for which he is rightfully famous. Thus this book may contain a surprise for the many who recognize Nova Scotia as so justly representative of a new force in sociological, economic and educational thought. A writing of inestimable value as a practical demonstration of the thesis that there is no social adjustment without sound intellectual groundwork and growth.

Finally it is the life story of a man who was most amazing in his ability to adapt himself, be it to the life of a college professor, a pastor in a poverty-stricken fishing or mining village, or a representative before legislative, educational and other civic bodies in the United States and Canada.

CHARLES HENRY, S.J.

LETTERS

Apartheid and Christianity

The review of *Racial Separation in South Africa* [February, pp. 86-87] is typical of the foreigner's naive acceptance of anything evil reported about South Africa. Under the impression that our government is in essence a dictatorship, Father Bernard begins, "Newspapers recently mentioned drastic penalties set by law for the possession of a 'subversive' book. In Mr. Dvorin's book (which would probably be considered quite subversive). . ."

"Subversive" works are simply communist literature (New China weeklies, Rumanian freedom-loving youth magazines, etc.) and anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-White publications. Other banned works are the uncounted thousands of pornographic books poured in by American and British publishers. Strange, is it not, that the Catholic church also legislates against such books. South Africa is in good company.

Let me assure Father Bernard that Mr. Dvorin's book on *apartheid* would get free entry, unless it was obviously communist. Indeed, it would be lost among many similar publications in our bookstores.

To judge by the review, the opinions of this Chicago theorist would be taken with the same grains of salt used for other overseas theorists. Nobody could rightly claim that *apartheid* is the perfect solution to our race problem. But does Father Bernard know that several members of the S.A. Catholic hierarchy have declared that there is a form of *apartheid* which, if justly applied, is completely in accordance with Christian teaching? Had the re-

viewer's final statement, "[we] must lament that no fruitful and peaceful solution is in sight. . .," included the word, ". . . no other solution," it would have agreed with those of us who propound the one acceptable version of the separation policy.

Is it true that the U. S. is indeed covered by the dark, menacing hand of McCarthy, that a reign of fear and terror exists in University corridors, that tens of thousands of decent, freedom-loving American citizens have been discharged on false accusations, that the execution of the Rosenbergs was the greatest travesty of justice this century has seen, that all Negroes in the U. S. still suffer discrimination and oppression little better than in slave days? That, in brief, is the picture a good part of our press paints of America.

The parallel should be obvious.

W. E. BARKER

Groenkloof, Pretoria, South Africa

As to the "theorist," it should be enough to note that Mr. Dvorin lived some years in Africa and that his notes and references cover 43 pages (of a total of 256), with only two short citations from American newspapers (from accounts written by South Africans). A great part of the references and quotations pertain to official government documentation and record.

If some Catholic bishops apparently favor "a form of *apartheid*," this only indicates that all do not, and that there is more than one opinion on the question. For instance, Archbishop Owen J. McCann of Capetown said lately in New York that

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certain "intellectual and earnest people . . . want to see justice done, but on the basis of separation. They think that they can work it out but the point to be made is that *it is far too late* and that if the white man wanted separation it should have been done in 1650 when he settled in the Cape, because the very first marriage that was recorded in South Africa was between one of the servants of the colony and one of the Hottentot women. . . . *It is impossible in my opinion to see how segregation can be carried out.* (Emphasis added.) . . . I think the most important work we have to do is to try to convert the Afrikaner to Catholicism, to overcome the Calvinist mentality. . . ." (See *Interracial Review*, March, 1954, "Race Relations in South Africa," p. 44.)

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

Viewpoints . . .

. . . I am not interested in attempting to mix Marxism with Christianity—it can not be done. Nor do I care to have my name on the mailing list of any such radical, leftist movement.

WALTER S. SCHINZ

Chicago

. . . SOCIAL ORDER fills a tremendous need in the Catholic community today. It is especially useful and helpful to lay Catholics who are apostolically oriented and who have public responsibilities.

JOHN A. McDERMOTT

Philadelphia

The timely issues discussed each month have impressed me favorably.

JOHN H. CARROLL

Washington, D. C.

Change of Address

Offices of SOCIAL ORDER and the Institute of Social Order, formerly at 3655 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, are now located at 3908 Westminister Place, St. Louis 8.

Worth Reading

John L. Thomas, "Alleged 'Good Sense' of Small Families," *America*, 91 (September 11, 1954) 563-64.

Comment on the opinion of a well-known sociologist who predicts an early return to the small family and his evaluation of this predicted trend.

Jose Maria Garcia Escudero, "Los Sacerdotes-Obreros," *Revista Internacional de Sociologia*, 11 (October-December, 1953) 336-75.

A comprehensive summary of the priest-worker movement in France from 1945 to the end of 1953, reviewing the background of worker deChristianization, the ideal of "presence of the Church," origins of the movement, the personal and apostolic difficulties encountered.

Hannah Arendt, "Dream and Nightmare," *Commonweal*, 60 (September 10, 1954) 551-54.

The first of three articles by the author of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* on Europe's growing antipathy toward the United States.

Francis E. McMahon, "Orestes Brownson on Church and State," *Theological Studies*, 15 (June, 1954) 175-228.

The celebrated convert-philosopher believed that Catholicism and the American Constitution could provide an admirable blend of sound political philosophy and good practical government, but he deplored the uncritical adulation of an un-

principled democracy and the exaggerated liberalism of Catholics striving to assuage prejudice.

Rita Joseph and Robert L. Reynolds, "Catholics and U. S. Labor," *Jubilee*, 2 (September, 1954) 37-49.

A survey of the attitude of Catholic churchmen toward labor and trade-union organization.

Christopher Dawson, "The Historic Origins of Liberalism," *Review of Politics*, 16 (July, 1954) 267-82.

A survey of the intellectual revolution which preceded the political and economic revolutions. An historical companion-piece to Dr. Neill's discussion of liberalism in this issue of SOCIAL ORDER.

Dennis Howard, "The Councils and the Catholic Press," *Interracial Review*, 7 (July, 1954) 116-9.

A lay editor on *The Sign* staff frankly reviews both the accomplishment and the remaining tasks of Interracial Councils in the field of Catholic publications.

Letha L. Patterson, "Growing into Leadership," *Adult Leadership*, 3 (September, 1954) 8 ff.

Some valuable ideas culled out of personal experience—useful for all engaged in social fields.

WORK

to promote social action

OCTOBER, 1954

"One cannot be
a saint and
live the gospel
we preach without
spending oneself
to provide
everyone with the
housing, employment,
goods, leisure,
education, etc.,
without which life
is no longer useful."

—Cardinal Suhard

WORK, a monthly edited by
laymen, is published by the
Catholic Labor Alliance.

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a Year Won't Fill U. S.
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RATES

☐ \$3 - 3 years

☐ \$2 - 2 years

☐ \$1 - 1 year

WORK

21 W. Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Zone _____

State _____

SOCIAL ORDER

3908 WESTMINSTER PLACE
ST. LOUIS 8, MO.



OCTOBER, 1954